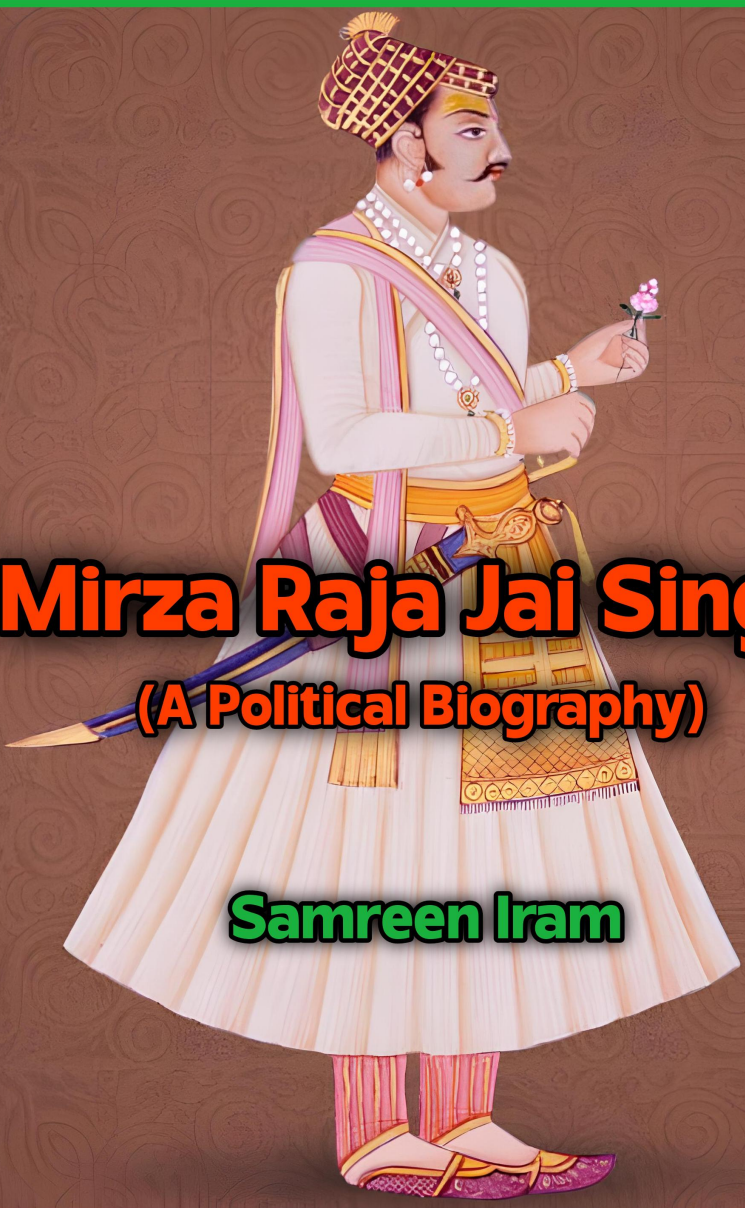

Mirza Raja Jai Singh

(A Political Biography)

Samreen Iram

2017

Dedicated

To

My Parents

(Mr. Muin Ahmad, Mrs. Shagufta Nasreen)

&

My Grandfather

(Late Shakeel Ahmad)

Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University

CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY

Prof. Mohammad Afzal Khan

Department of History
A.M.U., Aligarh

Date:

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled **"Mirza Raja Jai Singh – A Political Biography"** submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** in History, is a faithful record of the bonafide research work carried out by **Ms. Samreen Iram** under my guidance and supervision at the Department of History of the Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh and that no part of it has been submitted for any other degree or diploma.

(Prof. Mohammad Afzal Khan)
Supervisor

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Date

Place Aligarh

Samreen Iram

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Abbreviations

Ain	Ain-i-Akbari
AMU	Aligarh Muslim University
FFMBRS	Farsi Farmano ke Prakash me Mughalkalin Bharat evam Rajput Sashak.
CAS	Centre of Advanced Study
DLFMN	A Descriptive list of Farmana, Manshurs and Nishans
IHRC	Indian History Record Commission
JAOR	Journal of American Oriental Society
PIHC	Proceeding of Indian History Congress
RSA	Rajasthan State Archive
Tuzuk	Tuzuk-i-Jahangir
VS	Vikram Samvat

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INTRODUCTION

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INTRODUCTION

The thesis is entitled **'Mirza Raja Jai Singh-A Political Biography'**. Mirza Raja Jai Singh was one of the most prominent figures on the Mughal Empire during the 16th 17 century. His moves and activities profoundly influenced the course of events that moulded the destiny of the Mughal Emperors. The present work is an attempt to sketch a political biography of a noble as a case study, aiming at attaining an insight into the actual working of the political institutions and policies of the Mughal Empire.

We have dealt with many aspect of Mirza Raja Jai Singh's life. He played distinguished service in the armed forces. He was leader of all contingents of the Mughal army comprising Afghans, Mughals and other Rajput. His qualities were of being bland and gracious or ingratiating in manner. He received, therefore very rich robe of honour. He played key roles in Mughal politics. The present study is an attempt in this direction.

We have also tried to scrutinize contemporary information about the times and life of Mirza Raja Jai Singh. This selection is made with an eye not only on topic of political importance but we have tried to analyse other activities as well.

Mirza Raja Jai Singh was an eminent noble of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb. He was a Rajput Kachawaha noble. He entered the Mughal court in his early age during the period of Jahangir. His *mansab* was raised to 2,000. Two years later he was raised to the rank of 3,000. Mirza Raja Jai Singh was well versed in *Persian, Turkish, Urdu, Hindi* as well as *Sanskrit*. He played an important role in battle during the time of Shahjahan. He served in Deccan under Aurangzeb's command.

Objective of study:

This thesis proposes to study the following aspects of his life-

(I) To assess the genealogical origin and ancestral history of Mirza Raja Jai Singh.

(II) To study of position of Mirza Raja Jai Singh in administrative hierarchy and nobility under Shahjahan and Aurangzeb.

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(III) To analyse his role in Shahjahan and Aurangzeb's accession to Mughal throne.

(IV) To comprehensively investigate his political life, his policies at Deccan state. How he dealt with Shivaji and his alliance with Mughal Emperor.

(V) His unsuccessful attempt in accomplishing the task of subduing Ali Adil Shah, has also been studied.

I

Archival Records (Rajasthan State Archives of Bikaner)

Archival records are a rich repository of information preserved in Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner. *Purandar ki Sandhi*[1] is valuable translated work into *Hindi* by Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner. This is a *Farman* which is twenty two feet long and ninety nine lines. Aurangzeb issued this *Farman* to Mirza Raja Jai Singh during the time of his Deccan expeditions. A *Farman* is important to study policies of Aurangzeb at Deccan and his attitude towards Shivaji. This document gives information of Jai Singh's role in Deccan campaigns. We have detailed information about terms of alliance of Purandar.

The Rajasthan state Archives has translated *Farmans*, *Nishans* and *Manshurs* into Hindi, which is preserved in the Archives. These translated works are divided into three volumes. eighty *Farmans* are in first volume, eighty two *Farmans* and *Manshurs* in second volume. One hundred seven *Nishans* are available in Third Volume. These *Farmans* were issued by Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb to Mirza Raja Jai Singh.

***Farmans*:** *Farmans* are royal orders. These documents were issued by Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb to Mirza Raja Jai Singh. These were related to campaigns, administration and promotions. The *Farmans* have *Tughra* which indicate clearly that it is a *Farman* of the Mughal Emperor. Details of these documents have been discussed in relevant chapters.

***Nishans*:** These documents were issued by royal family members especially Aurangzeb and Dara Shukoh. As many as 105 *Nishans* were issued to Mirza Raja Jai

[1] *Purandar ki Sandhi*, tr. Shujauddin Khan Naqshbandi, ed.Mahendra Khadgawat, Rajasthan Archives, Bikaner, 2016.

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Singh by royal family members on different occasions. Six *Nishans* of NurJahan were also issued to Mirza Raja Jai Singh.

Manshurs: 18 *Manshurs* were issued by Aurangzeb after his first coronation to Mirza Raja Jai Singh. These documents give valuable information which depict decisive role of Mirza Raja Jai Singh in war of succession.

Arzdasht: *Arzdasht* addressed by various officials to the rulers of Amber. These documents contain important detail about internal administrative affairs.

City Palace Library of Jaipur

Pothikhana of Jaipur is important collection of valuable manuscripts in *Sanskrit*, *Hindi*, *Rajasthani*, *Persian* and *Urdu* written during the last seven centuries. These documents deal with a variety of subject, which contain great example of calligraphy and illustrations of paintings. A number of paintings of Mirza Raja Jai Singh and his son were prepared by the court painters. We have two manuscripts at library of city palace Jaipur, one *Jaisinghestuti I*[2] and *RasikaPriya*[3].

Jaisinghestuti is a long paper document. Its language is Sanskrit, patterned into verses. Chandrawati was the wife of Mirza Raja Jai Singh a great patron of art and literature, she composed *RasikPriya*. An illustrated copy of which is well preserved in special seal collection of city palace. It has *Rangoli* design around the pages. Four colours (red, yellow, sky blue, green and black) were used. This design was made into two circles.

Albert hall museum of Jaipur is famous for its collections. Mirza Raja Jai Singh purchased the most famous Persian golden carpet from Persian ruler Shah Abbas which is preserved in this museum. A collection of *Ragmala* paintings are available in this museum. Its library is a rich collection of paintingsand books of different languages.

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[2] *Jaisinghestuti I* (Sanskrit Poetry), Pothikhana of Jaipur (Khasmohar collection), M.S. No. 599, verses-2 Jaipur.
[3] Keshav Das, *RasikPriya*, dated 1646 V.S./1639 A.D., Potikhana of Jaipur (khasmohar collection), Jaipur.

Rajasthani works

Rajasthani works are extremely important for this theme. We have explored historical information from poetical work.

VirVinod[1] This account is an important source of this topic. Writer has used *Hindi*, *Urdu*, *Persian*, *Rajasthani* and English words. He gives graphic detail about battles of Mirza Raja Jai Singh.

Munhata Nainsi[5]'s *Munhatā Nainsi-ri Khyāt* is a genealogical account. Nainsi has given details of Kachawaha family, and has elaborated it by tables.

Vanshavali:I have used the edited book of *Vanshavali*[6] this edited work has given the important information about the Kachawaha family. We know that *Vanshawali* means the genealogical source.

Koormavilas: This source belongs to Kachawahas of Amber. This source is important. We have collected information of Kachawaha rulers from this document. This document is versified account.[7]

Catalogue of historical Documents in Kapad Dwara is collections of *Farmans*, *Nishans*. *Kapad Dwara* which gives information of selected *Farman* and *Nishans*. One of the important *Farman* of Shahjahan shows that four *havelis* had been granted in compensation of the land given by Mirza Raja Jai Singh for the construction of Taj Mahal. NurJahan's *Nishan* issued to Jai Singh is also a part of the collection.[8]

II

Persian Sources

Persian sources give a brief survey about Jai Singh's career. These sources do not describe his activities in battles. Especially this problem is found during the reign of Shah Jahan. However we have information about his military activities in Persian

[1]Shyamaldas, *VirVinod*, Vol-II, pt-II, Delhi, 1986.
[5]Munhata Nainsi, *Munhatā Nainsi-ri Khyāt*, Vol.I, The Rajasthan Oriental Research Institution, Jodhpur,1960.
[6]*Kachhawan Ri Vanshavali (a genealogical account of the Kachhawa Nobility)*, ed. Shyam Singh Ratnawat, Centre for Rajasthan Studies, Jaipur, 1981.
[7]Chand Kavi ,*Koormavilas*, ed.J.K. Jain , Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner, Bikaner, 1991.
[8]GN Bahura, Chandramani Singh, *Catalogue of Historical Documents in Kapad Dwara*,Vol.I, Jaipur , 1988, pp.25-26, *Kapad Dwara* divided into two Volumes, second volume gives information about maps ,plans and literature.

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sources during the reign of Aurangzeb. These sources have a detail account of his military career at Deccan state.

Akbarnama[9], ***Ain-i-Akbari***[10], ***Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh***[11], ***Tabaqat-i-Akbari***[12]are rich source for the period of Akbar. These sources give detail about Mirza Raja Jai Singh's family. Many aspects of Kachawaha family are covered by contemporary and non-contemporary sources. Badauni gives information marriage ceremony of prince Salim with Bharmal's daughter. Matrimonial alliance was very important for Kachawahas family. After this alliance, their position became prominent at Mughal court. ***Ain-i-Akbari*** gives information about *mansab* of Kachawaha family members.

Jahangir's autobiography '***Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri***'[13] tells us about Mirza Raja Jai Singh entrance and position at Mughal court. Jahangir wrote about his accession on Amber *gaddi* after Bhao Singh's death. Jahangir's relation with Kachawaha family was not very well. But after he joined service of Mirza Raja Jai Singh Mughal Empire, their relation became fine. Jahangir accepted these things in his autobiography.

Lahori's ***Badshahnama***[14],Qazwini's ***Badshahnama***[15], Salih Kambo's ***Amal-i-Salih***[16], Inayat Khan's ***Shahjahannama***[17] furnish information of Mirza Raja Jai Singh military activities and his promotions. These sources are important to analysis the position of Mirza Raja Jai Singh at Mughal court.

Futuhat-i-Alamgiri[18],***Muntakhab-al-Lubab***[19],***Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri***[20],***Nushka-i-Dilkusha***, are reliable sources during the period of Aurangzeb's reign. These sources are gives pivotal information about his role in war of succession and Deccan campaign in Aurangzeb's period.

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[9]Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol.II, ed. Maulvi Abdur Rahim, Calcutta, 1881.
[10]Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, 1893.
[11]Abdul Qadir Badauni, *Muntakhab-utTawarikh*, Vol.II, ed.Maulvi Ahmad Ali, Calcutta, 1965.
[12]Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, ed. Nawal Kishor, Lucknow, 1895.
[13]Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, ed. Saiyid Ahmad Khan, Ghazipur, 1863.
[14]Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.I-II, ed. Kabir Al-Din Ahmad & Abd-Al Rahim,,Calcutta,1867.
[15]Qazwini, *Badshahnama*, pt-b, Rotograph (R No-191), Rieu i/258 b, B.M MS. No.or.173, C.A.S. Department of History, A.M.U., Aligarh.
[16]Moh.Salih Kambo, *Amal-i-Salih*,Vol.I, ed.Ghulam Yazdani, Calcutta, 1923.
[17]Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannamah*, tr, A.R. Fuller,s ed. W.E.Begley and Z.A.Desai, Delhi, 1990.
[18]Ishwar Das Nagar, *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri*, Rotograph No .42, C.A.S. Deptt of History, A.M.U., Aligarh.
[19]Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab Al-Lubab*, Vol.I, II, ed. Maulvi Kabir Al-Din Ahmad, Calcutta, 1869.
[20]Saqi Musta'idd Khan, *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, ed. Agha Ahmad Ali, Calcutta, 1871.

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Kazim's ***Alamginama***[21] is very valuable account in the period of Aurangzeb. This source contains full information about Mirza Raja Jai Singh's policy in Deccan campaign. Especially how to deal with Shivaji? His military tactics also described this source.

Haft Anjumann compiled by Udai Raj (A copy is available in the shri Raghubir Library, Sitamau. He was a military secretary of Mirza Raja Jai Singh.English translation of this valuable source by Jagdish Narayan Sarkar with the title of '*The military despatches of a 17th century Indian General*'. These letters are divided into seven parts, it's called *Anjumanns*. These are here-

- Despatches from Jai Singh to Aurangzeb during the pursuit of Dara after the battle of Ajmer, ff.26b-37a.
- Despatches from Jai Singh to Aurangzeb during the Deccan campaigns against Shivaji and Bijapur., ff.37a-94b.
- Jai Singh to nobles and officers posted in the Deccan.
- Jai Singh to Sadat Khan, Qutb Shah and candidates for office (i.e. deserters from the Deccani Sultans) ff.135b-165a.
- Jai Singh to the imperial envoys to the Deccani Sultans, ff.165-174a.[22]

Basatin al- Salatin (*Tarikh-i-Bijapur*)[23] is rich source of Mirza Raja Jai Singh's campaign of Bijapur. This source gives a detail account of his policies against Bijapur.

La'tif-ul-Akhbar of Badiuz-Zaman Rashid Khan is important for three siege of Qandahar and war of succession. This source highlighted the political role of Mirza Raja Jai Singh in Qandahar campaigns and war of succession. This source gives the information about Dara Shukoh and his relations. I have found English translated of this work in K.R. Qanungo's *Dara Shukoh*.

[21] Mohammad Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol. II, ed. Khadim Husaini and Abdul Hai , Calcutta, 1868.
[22] J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.IV, Calcutta, 1930, pp.314-315, Sarkar gives information about these letters.
[23] Mohd Ibrahim Zubairi, *Basatin al-Salatin*, Hyderabad, 1824.

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III

Travelogue

Traveller's accounts give vital information about Mirza Raja Jai Singh's career. Their gives varied information perspective compared to other sources. As these accounts have to be used very carefully. Many aspects of his life have been dealt with in these sources especially his role in war of succession and Deccan expeditions.

Manucci's ***Storioa Do Mogor***[24]is significant source for Mirza Raja Jai Singh's role in war of succession and Deccan campaigns. He joined the service of Mirza Raja Jai Singh. He gives information of his conversation with him. He had written Shah Jahan's secret order to Mirza Raja Jai Singh during the time of war of succession. His account is own observation.

Bernier's ***Travels in Mughal Empire 1656-1668***[25]is one of the important travelling accounts. He gives information of Mirza Raja Jai Singh's role in war of succession. He gives treachery account of Mirza Raja Jai Singh against Dara Shukoh, and other detail of his status at Mughal court.

Mountstuart Elphinstone's ***History of India***[26]gives a brief account of Mughal history. He also deals with Mirza Raja Jai Singh's campaigns against Deccan.

IV

Factory Records

Factory records are important source for the period of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. These documents are in letter form.*The English Factories in India 1665-1667* and *Factories Records of Shivaji* are important documents of 17th century. This century was not only important for territorial expansion of the history of the East India Company it was also factory era. These documents are personal observations of writers.

The English factories in India 1665-1667[27]is important for Mirza Raja Jai Singh's policy against Deccan State, his policy against Bijapur and Shivaji and his

[24]Manucci, *Storioa do Mogor*, Vol.I, tr. William Irwin, Calcutta, 1965.
[25]Francois Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire 1656-1668*, tr., Archibald Constable, New Delhi, 2004.
[26]Mount Stuart Elphinstone, *History of India*, Allahabad,1966.

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died Detail of Purandar Alliance, Shivaji's visit Agra and Shivaji's escaped from Agra received from this source.

Factories Records of Shivaji[28]deals with Shivaji's life, his policies about Bijapur state. Also deals with Mirza Raja Singh's policy against Shivaji, details of Purandar alliance, Shivaji's visit to Agra and escape from Agra.

V

Modern Works

Modern works gives many aspects of Mirza Raja Jai Singh's political career.

Jadunath Sarkar's works ***History of Jaipur***[29], gives the detail of Kachawaha rules of Jaipur. He gives a brief biographical account of Mirza Raja Jai Singh.

History of Aurangzeb,[30]gives authentic information of Mirza Raja Jai Singh's military and political career. Sarkar wrote about his military and diplomatic policies against Deccan.

Shivaji and his times[31]give information of Shivaji's life and his policies against Mughals. Jai Singh's policies are also highlighted.

House of Shivaji, Sarkar used Maratha sources of this work. He gives information of the relationship between Mirza Raja Jai Singh and Shivaji.

Shivaji's visit to Aurangzeb in Agra[32]is important account. He gives detail information about Shivaji's visit to Agra and his escape from Aurangzeb's court and Ram Singh's role in these events. Sarkar has presented a political picture of Mirza Raja Jai Singh.

Panduranga Pissurlencar's ***The attitude of the Portuguese towards Shivaji during the campaigns of Shaista Khan and Mirza Raja Jai Singh***[33]gives information

[27]Sir William Foster, *The English Factories in India 1665-1667*, Vol.V, London, 1925.
[28]*English Records of Shivaji (1659-1682)*, Shiva Charita Karyalaya, Poona, 1931.
[29]J.N. Sarkar, *A History of Jaipur*, ed. Raghubir Sinh, ,New Dehli, 2009.
[30]J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.IV, Calcutta, 1930.
[31]JadunathSarkar, *Shivaji& His Time*, Calcutta, Fifth edition, 1952.
[32]*Shivaji's visit to Aurangzeb at Agra (A collection of contemporary Rajasthani letters from Jaipur State Archives)*, tr. J.N. Sarkar & Raghubir Singh, Calcutta, 1963.
[33]Panduranga Pissurlencar, The attitude of the Portuguese towards Shivaji during the campaigns of Shaista Khan and Jai Singh, *Indian Historical Record commission*, Vol.IX, Calcutta, 1927

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of official relationships between Mirza Raja Jai Singh and Portuguese. Mirza Raja Jai Singh needs their support to Deccan campaigns.

Rafaqat Ali Khan's ***The Kachhwahas under Akbar and Jahangir***[34], this work contains the history of Mirza Raja Jai Singh's ancestors. He gives full detail of their activities at Mughal court. He give a biographical sketch of Kachwaha rulers of Amber in his work.

Afzal Husain's ***The Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir A study of Family groups***[35]is a valuable work. He gives information of Bharmal's family. He gives short history of Kachawaha from Bharmal to Mirza Raja Jai Singh. He has discussed battles, administrative activities and matrimonial alliance in his work.

Jagdish Narayan's work is ***The Military despatches of a seventeenth century Indian general***[36] is authentic source of Mirza Raja Jai Singh's expedition against Deccan during 17th century. This work translated of *Haft Anjumann*. This work was compiled by Udai Raj, who was secretary of Mirza Raja Jai Singh.

Rajiv Narayan Prasad wrote a biographical work on ***Man Singh of Amber***, his work based upon the genealogical table. This genealogical account (*Vanshawali*) gives the account of Rajput rulers. And Prasad's work is very useful for biographical work. He gives an idea how to deal with biographical work. He described both positive and negative aspects of his personality.[37]

K.R. Qanungo's ***Dara Shukoh***[38] is important for his role in Qandahar campaign and war of succession. He had written totally against Mirza Raja Jai Singh. He explains treachery role of Mirza Raja Jai Singh.He had show the negative picture of Jai Singh in war of succession.

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[34]K. Rafaqat Ali Khan, *Kachhwaha under Akbar and Jahangir*, New Delhi, 1976.
[35] Husain, Afzal, *The Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir (Astudy of Family group)s*, New Delhi, 1999
[36]Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a seventeenth century Indian general*, Calcutta, 1969.
[37]Rajiv Narain Prasad, *Raja Man Singh of Amber*, Calcutta, 1960.
[38]K.R.Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*,Vol.I, Calcutta, 1952.

The Apparatus of Empire: Ranks, Officers and Titlesto the Mughal Nobility, 1574-1658[39] is a major work, shows the tables of *mansab*, titles and appointments of the Mughal nobles with chronological data.

Literary Heritage of the Rulers of Amber and Jaipur is an affluent collection of manuscripts of *Pothikhana* of Jaipur and *Khasmohor* collection. The writer gives a full detail of literary activities of Amber rulers. We find information about Mirza Raja Jai Singh's art activities at Amber court.

Chapter Layout

First chapter is 'Family Background and Early Career', an attempt is made to trace the history of ancestors of Mirza Raja Jai Singh. Kachhwahas entered the Mughal service in the period of Humayun but they attained fame under Akbar. Their starting was modest but after some time they received strong position atMughal court. Akbar was married to Bharmal's daughter in 1562 A.D., after this alliance, they wereraised to the highest position at Mughal court. In 1559 A.D., Bhagwan Das was inherited his abilities and succeeded to his rank. He distinguished himself byparticipating in many battles in Gujarat, Mewar, Kashmir and Afghanistan. Beni Prasad says that, "He added a true Rajput sense of honour, of sanctity of the plighted word, the true Rajput contempt of danger and death."[40]

Daughter of Bhagwan Das was married to Prince Salim (Jahangir). He was raised to the *mansab* of 5,000 *Zat* and 5,000 *Sawar*.[41] His son Man Singh had inherited his wealth and dominion. He had evinced the keenest military aptitudes. He had been governor of the everturbulent province of Bengal for last years. He presented himself at court in 1604 A.D., when he was raised to the *mansab* of 7,000 *Zat* and 7,000 *Sawar*.[42]

Chapter second is 'Military Services under Shahjahan (1627A.D – 1658 A.D)' we examine the role of Mirza Raja Jai Singh in the campaigns under Shahjahan. He distinguished himself at Deccan and Northern Eastern campaigns. We have described military activities in this chapter. His military career started from Deccan State. Two

[39] M. Athar Ali, *The Apparatus of Empire: Ranks, Officers and Titles to the Mughal Nobility, (1574-1658)*, New Delhi, 1985.
[40] Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, Allahabad, 1973, p.55.
[41] Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, op.cit., p.160.
[42] Shaikh Farid Bhakkari, *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin*, Vol.I, ed. Moin ul Haq, Karachi, 1961, p.103.

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expedition of Parenda fort, Ausa, Udgir Daulatabad, Central Asia, three attempts of Qandahar campaigns, these campaigns were turning point of his military career.

A number of *Farmans* were issued by Shahjahan to Mirza Raja Jai Singh. Emperor gives instruction of battles, promotions, and motivations to him. This period was full of opportunities to Mirza Raja Jai Singh's military career.

We have also dealt with his relations with Dara Shukoh after Qandahar campaigns. This is a controversial episode in his political career.

Third chapter 'Mirza Raja Jai Singh and the War of Succession' deals with his role in war of succession. His political nature was highlighted in this war.Mirza Raja Jai Singh's role in war of succession among the sons of Shahjahan reveals that he was an opportunist, loyal to the throne and to the person. He very well known about Shah Jahan's sons, he participated in the battles with these princes (Dara Shuko, Aurangzeb and Murad). He followed the instruction of Shahjahan in this crucial time. Dara Shukoh sent him against to Shah Shuja. He successfully conducted this campaign. Masum's *Tarikh-i-Shah Shuja* has described this battle. He did not participate in Dharmat and Samugarh battles, at this time he adopted the policy of diplomat. He was not happy with Dara Shukoh after the third battle of Qandahar.

After defeat of Dara in Dharmat and Samugarh battles, suddenly he joined Aurangzeb. Because of that picture was clear that now Dara had nothing in his hands. It was a wise step of him. Aurangzeb appointed him in pursuit of Dara.

Fourth chapter 'Mirza Raja Jai Singh- As a Military Governor of Deccan' deals with the attitude of Mirza Raja Jai Singh against Shivaji and Ali Adil Shah. *Haft Anjumann* is a valuable source, which highlights the strategy, technique of war, political and military history of Mirza Raja Jai Singh. They attempted to establish their roots at Deccan. Aurangzeb selected Mirza Raja Jai Singh amongst the Mughal governors for these difficult tasks. Because he had qualities of superior soldier and his diplomatic nature. He had knowledge of every difficult ways of war strategy.

He faced many problems but he carefully handled these problems. He had taken intelligent step that he did not attempt war against Shivaji and Adil Shah at the same time. Firstly he dealt with Shivaji, if he would won this battle, he used Shivaji against Bijapur.

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His Deccan campaign was hardly remarkable from purely military point of view. It was highly impressive in terms of diplomacy and intrigue. He observed the geographical factors of this state and then he decided that he could not annex all the forts of Shivaji. He secured the surrender of such Shivaji forts.

Purandar alliance between Mughal Empire and Shivaji was the result of Mirza Raja Jai Singh's diplomatic nature, Shivaji visit to Agra and his escaped are also highlighted in this chapter.

Second part of this chapter is related to his military campaign against Bijapur. This campaign was very important for Mirza Raja Jai Singh's career. He had responsibilities of Bijapur campaign. His preparations were very good which throw light on his policy and work in Deccan. He was a wise administrator and beyond all the greatest loyalist of the Mughal Empire.

Fifth chapter is 'Mirza Raja Jai Singh: Role as an administrator' this chapter deals with other activities of Mirza Raja Jai Singh, his personal affairs. We have also discussed about his descendant.

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CHAPTER- I:

Family Background and Early Career

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CHAPTER-I

Family Background and His Early Career

Mirza Raja Jai Singh belonged to the Kachawahas dynasty. This dynasty had an important place among Rajput dynasties in Rajasthan. Kachawahas had different branches as that Rajawat and Shaikhawat.[1] Raja Bharmal, Bhagwant Das, Man Singh were famous personalities of Kachawahas rulers. Jai Singh's ancestors entered Mughal court in the reign of Akbar. They enjoyed a privileged position among the other Rajputs.[2] This chapter outlines the position of Kachawahas before after they joined the service of Mughals and also early career of Jai Singh.

There is paucity of recordsfor this dynasty. For the other Rajput dynasties there are *Khyat (History)*, *Vat*, *Varta*, *Haqiqat (Reality)*,*Hal (News)*,*Pidhiyan (Important events of o important people's genealogical source)*, *Pattavali (Virat magazine of this tradition, source of genealogical)*,*Vrittant*, *Vigat*, *Yad (memories)*, *Yaddast*(memorandum) and *Vanshavali* (genealogical table).[3]

The *Nainsiri Khyat* is an important source, it contains pedigree record of the Kachawaha family. Nainsi was a *Diwan* of Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur and contemporary of Shahjahan. He had collected information from place to place and about the clans. He had given the table of early Kachawaha rulers.[4]

We cannot ignore the work of poetical composition.These works furnish the historical fact and chronology and its language are varied such as *Marwari*, *Sanskrit*, *Brajbhasha* and *Rajasthani* under the patronage of earlier rulers of Kachawaha dynasty. These works are related to Prithvi Raj, Man Singh, Bhao Singh, Vishnu Singh, Jai Singh and Sawai Jai Singh.[5] A later work was prepared in the reign of Ram Singh II. Chandr Kavi had written *Koormavilas* for his ancestors.[6]

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[1] Shah Nawaz Khan, *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.II, ed. Mirza Ashraf Ali, Calcutta, 1890, p.111, Vol.I, tr. H. Beveridge,Vol.I, New Delhi, 1979, p.409.

[2] Savitra Gupta, *Rajasthan District Gazetteers*, Jaipur, 1987, p.28.

[3] *Kachhawan Ri Vanshavali (a genealogical account of the Kachhawa Nobility)*, ed. Shyam Singh Ratnawat, Centre for Rajasthan Studies, Jaipur, 1981, p.I.

[4] Munhata Nainsi, *Munhatā Nainsi-ri Khyāt* Vol.I, The Rajasthan Oriental Research Institution, Jodhpur,1960, is written in Marwari language, D.N. Marshal, *Mughal in India-a biographical Survey*, New York, 1967, p.348, J.N. Asopa,*Origin of the Rajputs*, Delhi, 1976 , p.224.

[5] G.N. Bahura, *Literary Heritage of the Rulers of Amber and Jaipur*, Jaipur,pp.3-10, *Kachhawan Ri Vanshavali (a genealogical account of the Kachhawa Nobility)*,op.cit., 1981, p.2.

[6] Chand Kavi, *Koormavilas*, ed. J.K. Jain, Rajasthan State Archive of Bikaner, Bikaner, 1991, p.2, these volumes are preserved in *Daftar Khas* of Jaipur. Apart from one volume is preserved in *Pothikhana* and second preserved in *Diwani Hajoori* of the state.

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Persian sources are also important to understand the circumstances in which Kachawahas entered Mughal services. How they maintained their position? Contemporary sources focus on their activities. Abul Fazl hasundertaken their military, social, political activities in his *Akbarnama* and *Ain-i-Akbari*. Other sources also supply detail about this dynasty.

Early History Kachawaha Dynasty

The etymology of Kachawaha word has behind it a history. Some historian says that kachawaha word is derived from Kusha, second son of Rama of Ayodhya.[7] Kachawaha had also called *suryavanshi*.[8] These were ethnic groups, many titles were used for Kachawahas such as-

(i) Kachhapaghata (कच्छपात)
(ii) Kachhapari (कच्छपारि)
(iii) Kachhwaha (कच्छवाह)
(iv) Katsawaha (कत्सवाह)
(v) Kurma (कूर्म)[9]

H.C. Roy does not agree that Kachwaha word is derived from Kusa. He bases himself on inscription that, "It is moreover impossible to derive the word *Kacchapaghata* or the modern Kachhwāhā from Kusha. The opinion that a section of tribe settled in Narwar is however supported by the Narwar grant of Virasimha, which was actually issued from *Nala-Pura-mahadurga* (here, in the great fortress of fortunate Nalapura) [10] in V.S.1177 (A.D.1120)."[11]

Edward has translated this inscription, "a sun to the lilies in the lake of the happy Kachchpaghata a lineage, supreme sovereign, great king, chief ruler and lord permanent whose person is a ruby derived from that mines of gem."[12] Kachawaha might have merged into Kachhapaghat. D.C. Ganguly has opined that, "The

[7] Shyamaldas, *Vir Vinod*, Vol-II, pt-II, Delhi, 1986, p.1268, *Munhatā Nainsi- ri Khyāt*, Vol.I, p.288.
[8] Munhata Nainsi, *MunhatāNainsi-ri Khyāt*, op.cit., Vol.I, p.291.
[9] G.N. Bahura, *Literary Heritage of the Rulers of Amber and Jaipur*, op.cit.,p.99.
[10] Fitz Edward Hall, Three Sanskrit Inscriptions, *Journal of American Oriental Society*, Vol.VI, Mdccolx, 1960, p.543, Appendix-A.
[11] H.C. Ray, *Dynasty History of Northern India (early Medieval India)*,Vol-II, New Delhi, 1973, p.821,Fitz Edward Hall, Three Sanskrit Inscriptions,*J.A.O.R*, pp.543-544-545, this inscription was founded in Nalapura fort, Sarkar does not support that Kachawaha migrated from Narwar, he believed, first time, Narwar became associated with Kachawaha in the period of Akbar. He gave Narwar as a *Jagir* to Askaran, J.N. Sarkar, *A History of Jaipur*, ed. Raghubir Sinh, New Dehli, 2009, p.20.
[12] Fitz Edward Hall, Three Sanskrit Inscriptions, *J.A.O.R*, Vol.VI, op.cit., p.545.

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Kachchhapaghātas are generally taken to be the predecessors of Rajput clan Kachhwaha, but this assumption is not based on any historical evidence."[13]

Three different branches of Kachawaha were ruling at different state-

- First family ruled at Gwalior (990 – 1128 A.D.)
- Second family ruled at Dubkund (who ruled in eleventh century)
- And the third family was that of Narwar (which ruled in the eleventh and twelfth centuries)[14]

A group of Gwalior family Insha Singh or Ishwar Singh was the son of Dewanki. His son Sodhadev, captured Dausa after defeating Badgujars. Dulha Rai (the bridegroom prince and also called Tej Khan) was the son of Sodhadev. Ancestors of Jai Singh's territories expanded by military annexations and their neighbouring feudal lords helped them. Dulah Rai was the first ruler of Kachawaha dynasty. He ascended the throne of Dhoondar on 1063 V.S. /966 A.D.,[15] Meenas were the original residents of the tract around Dhoondar, and they disturbed the peace and prosperity.[16]

Ralhan Si was a Chauhan chief of Lalsot (at present time it is a small town between Tonk and Deoli). He married his daughter to Dulha Rai. He had given half of the township of Dausa[17] as a dowry to Dulha Rai. He conquered the fort of Dausa from Badgujars.[18] Dausa was the first capital of the Kachawahas. Dulha Rai's son was Kakil, he was the founder of Amber.[19] He had four sons Alkari, Delar, Ralla and Raja Chandrsen. Amber was conquered by Rao Bhatto of the Sorawat branch of Meenas.[20]

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[13] *The History & Culture of Indian People*, Vol.V, ed. R.C. Majumdar & A.D. Pusalkar, Mumbai, 2001, p.56.

[14] *A Comprehensive History of India*,Vol.V, ed. Mohd. Habib, K.A. Nizami, New Delhi, 1970, p.836, Babu Rajendralala, Vestiges of the kings of Gwalior, *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol.XXXI, Calcutta. 1862, p.405, Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Report of A Tour in Eastern Rajputana*, Vol.XX, Delhi, 1969, pp.99-105.

[15] *Kachhawan Ri Vanshavali*, op.cit., p.3, *Nainsi's Khyat* had given information that Dulha Rai was established Gwalior city, p.293.

[16] Rajiv Narain Prasad, *Man Singh of Amber*, Calcutta, 1966, p.1, *Rajasthan District Gazetteers*, p.1.

[17] Deosa is situated about 32 miles east from Jaipur, to the south side of the high road which runs from Jaipur to Agra, Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, New Delhi, 1986, p.18 (6A-6B), A.C.L. Carlleyle, *Archaeological Survey of India A tour in Eastern Rajputana 1871-72 and 1872-73*, Vol.VI, Delhi, 1966, p.104.

[18] *Kachhawan Ri Vanshavali* ,op.cit., pp.2-3,Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India A tour in Eastern Rajputana 1871-72 and 1872-73*, Vol.VI, p.104.

[19] Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India A tour in Eastern Rajputana*, op.cit., p.99, Cunnigham describe the word of Amber, the term 'Mer' or 'Ner', which is found attached to so many names in Rajputana.

[20] *Kachhawan Ri Vanshavali* and *Koormavilas* says that Dhola migrated from Gwalior, Chand Kavi, *Koormavilas*, p.14,*Nainsi'sKhyat*, Vol.I, pp.293-295, Shyamaldas, *VirVinod*,Vol.II, pt.II, pp.1268-1269, 1270, Tod says that he came from Narwar, Tod, *Annanls and Antiquities of Rajasthan or The*

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Amber was a vassal state of Mewar whose rulers were its hereditary enemies.[21] Kachawahas rulers wanted to establish their authority in the eastern plains of Rajasthan and they survived the attacks of the rulers of Agra and Delhi and their state was surrounded by powerful neighbours.[22]

Ancestors of Mirza Raja Jai Singh under Akbar and Jahangir

Kachawaha rulers played an important role in extending authority of Akbar. He therefore rewarded them by assigning *mansabs*, administrative offices, *Jagirs*. R.P. Tripathi gives the reason why Kachawahas joined the Mughal service he says that, "They had neither the prestige nor the strength to face any serious military power. The nearness of their homeland to Delhi, Agra and the flat plains kept them always exposed to the attacks of the Delhi and Agra."[23] Inspite of that they had no fame, no powerful rulerscompare to other rulers of eastern Rajasthan. They wanted a platform to establish their power at eastern Rajasthan. Kachawahas joined the Mughal services, it was best opportunity to Kachawahas at that time.

Prithvi Raj was the ruler of Amber in 1559 V.S. /20 Rajab 908 A.H. / 18th January 1503 A.D. He was the son of Chandrsen.[24] He joined Rana Sanga of Mewar and he participated in the battle of Khanwa.[25] After his death, his son Puran Mal (1528 to 1536)[26] was successor of Amber. In May, 1536 A.D., Puran Mal and his Kachawaha contingents participated in the battle of Mandreal, and expelled them from the Mughal territory.[27]

Central andWestern Rajput state of India, Vol.III, ed. William Crooke, Delhi, 1990, pp.1329-1330, *Kachhawan Ri Vanshavali*, pp.5-6, *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol.V, pp.386-387.

[21] S.P. Gupta, Expansion of the territory of the Kachhwahas in Mughal times, *P.I.H.C., Twenty seventh Session*, Allahabad,1965, p.177.

[22] Refaqat Ali Khan, *The Kachhawahas under Akbar and Jahangir*, New Delhi, 1976, p.1.

[23] R.P.Tripathi, *Rise and fall of Mughal Empire*, Allahabad, 1991, p.185.

[24] Shyamaldas, *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, pt.II, op.cit., p.1270, *Kachhwahan Ri Vanshavali*, p.53.

[25] RanaSanga reorganized the Kachawaha nobility in twelve chambers, styled as the *bara kotri*, *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol.V, p.837.

[26] According to *Kachhawan Ri Vanshavali*, Prithviraj had ninteen sons Puranmal, Bhim, Bharamal, Ram Singh, Sanga, Gopal, Pichyan, Jagmal, Surtan, Pratap, Balbhadra, Saindas, Kalyan, Bhanko, Chatrabhuj, Roopsi, Tejsi, Sensmal and Raimal and the last three died issueless, p.55.

[27] This battle described by Abul Fazl in his work *Akbarnama*, he refers about the battle of Mandrael. He mentions that Puran Mal joined Mughal service under Humayun, but there is no information about the circumstances in which he joined and the status he enjoyed. Abul Fazl also wrote to have been killed in battle while fighting in the army of Hindal against the Mirzas in May 1536, Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, ed .Maulvi Abdur Rahim, Calcutta, 1887, p.606.

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Raja Bharamal

Bharamal's accession started a new history not only for Amber but also other Rajputs.[28] Kachawahas were not powerful rulers of eastern Rajasthan and they had only the authority on ruling tribes of Rajasthan and were always worried from the attacks of Agra and Delhi. Amber was very often under the vassalage of one or the other of its powerful neighbours.[29]

Raja Bharamal was the son of Puran Mal. He ascended the throne of Amber in 1604 V.S. / 25th June 1557 A.D.,his brothers and other relatives challenged his claim to throne. They wanted siege of Amber.[30] His brother Askaran claimed throne and secured help from Haji Khan Afghan, he was the servant of SherKhan. Bharamal had given the proposal to Askaran that he wouldgive the territory of Narwar to him.[31]

After Humayun's death, the situation changed, Haji Khan was removed from his governorship by Akbarconsequently he rebelled against Akbar. He besieged Narnaul, which was the *Jagir* of Majnun Khan Qaqshal. Bharmaltook wise step at this juncture and helped Majnun Khan Qaqshal. He represented the choice fidelity of him, and an order was sent for his appearance. He helped Mughal *jagirdar* to get out safelyfrom the besieged fort of Narnaul. Mughal general was impressed by him.[32]

When Akbar visited Muinu-d-din's tomb, Chagtai Khan represented him in these words at the village of Kalali -

'راجه بوفورعقل و شجاعت ممتاز وقت است. و پیوسته در آداب دولتخواهی این دودمان عالی بوده خدمات شایسته بتقویم رسانیده است."[33]

"The Rajah is eminent in wisdom and valour and has always been loyal to the imperial family and rendered excellent service."[34]

He was the first Kachawaha[35] prince to have joined Mughal service. He had four sons Bhagwan Das, Jagan Nath, Sadul and Lunkaran who also joined Akbar's

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[28] J.N. Sarkar, *A History of Jaipur*, op.cit, p.32.
[29] V.S. Bhargava, *Rise of the Kachhawas in Dhundhar (Jaipur)*, New Delhi, 1979, p.10.
[30] Mohd Qasim Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, Vol.II, Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, 1350, p.251, *Munhata Nainsi-riKhyat*, p.297.
[31] *Kachhawan Ri Vanshavali*, op.cit., pp.57-58.
[32] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol.II ed. Maulvi Abdur Rahim, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1881,p.20, *Kachhawan Ri Vanshavali*, pp.57-58, Shyamaldas, *Vir Vinod*, Vol.II, pt.b, p.1275, Shahnawaz Khan, *M.a'asir-ul-Umara.*, Vol.I, p.410.
[33] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnam*, Vol.II, op.cit, p.155.
[34] Abul Fazl, *The Akbarnama*, Vol.II, eng tr. Beveridge, Delhi, 1972, p.240.

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service.[36] His brother Rupsi appeared at the station of Dausa along with his son Jai Mal. He had received the highest *mansabs* from Akbar.[37]

According to Badauni in 1572 A.D., Bharmal was appointed *Vakeel-i-Mutlq* (Minister with unlimited Power) in the absence of Akbar.[38] Jagan Nathath and Lunkaran were appointed in the department of armoury and communications.[39]

He had established matrimonial alliance with Mughals. ShahnawazKhan says that "The Rajah, from his good sense and foresight, wished to emerge from the crowd of landowners and to be enrolled among the special intimates of the court, and so expressed a desire that his daughter might enter the Harem."[40] His daughter was married to emperor on latter's return march at Sambhar, in a befitting ceremony of great rejoicing. This alliance created a powerful bond between Kachawahas and Mughals. Akbar had honoured him more than all the other Rajputs and bestowed high dignities and offices on his sons and grandson and on his tribesmen.[41]

Subsequently Bhagwan Das's daughter was married to Prince Salim in 1584 A.D..[42] This marriage ceremony was very special to Mughals and Rajputs. According to Badauni-

"تمگزار یست مشہور راجہ پہارہ مل حاکم انبیر با ولدش رای بھگوان داس بہ ملازمت رسید و صبیۂ رضیۂ خود ادرسلک ازدواج محترمہ منظوم ساخت".[43]

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[35] Abul Fazl used the term of *Alus* for Kachawahas and says they are the large body, *Akbarnama.*,Vol.II, p.156, Ahsan Raza Khan described the term of *Alus*, "Which we have discussed elsewhere and which meant a clan or a tribe well knit into military contingent, *Chieftains in the Mughal Empire during the reign of Akbar*, Simla, 1977, p.103, Irfan Habib, *The Agarian System of Mughal India* 1556-1707, New Delhi,1999, pp.204-205.

[36] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol.II, op.cit, pp.155-156, Shaikh Farid Bhakkari, *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol.I, ed. Moinul Haq, Karachi, 1961, p.103, *Kachhawan Ri Vanshvali*, p.291, Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, Nawal Kishor, Lucknow, 1895, p.256,382,385,388 he gave the information about Kachawahas family.

[37] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama.*, Vol.II, op.cit., p.156, Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, p.256.

[38] Shahnawaz Khan, *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.I,op.cit.,p.131.

[39] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama.*, Vol.III, op.cit., pp.404-405.

[40] Shahnawaz Khan, *M a'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.II,op.cit., p.410.

[41] Ibid, pp.410-411, Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol.II, p.157.

[42] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*,Vol.III, op.cit., p.451, Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta.*, p.266, Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari.*, p.156, Shaikh Farid Bhakkari, *Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin*, Vol.I, ed. Moinul Haq, Karachi, 1961, p.104, Badauni and Shaikh Farid explained this marriage ceremony and gives the information about dowry which gave to Akbar. After this marriage, relationships between Mughals and Kachawahas were very strong, pp.104-105.

[43] Abdul Qadir Badauni, *Muntakhab-utTawarikh*, Vol.II, ed. Maulvi Ahmad Ali, Calcutta, 1965, p.50.

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"Raja Paharah Mall, governor of Amber, together with his son Rai Bhagwan Das, and came and paid his respects to the emperor, who then espoused his gentle daughter in honourable wedlock."[44]

Abul Fazl's opinion on this matrimonial alliance is that, "establishing matrimonial relations with the emperor the status of the chief tremendously improved among *Zamindar*."[45] Position of Kachawaha improved after this alliance.[46]

Kachawaha nobles belonged to the *subah* of Ajmer, because during the reign of Akbar Amber was a part of the *Sarkar* of Ajmer. They had *Zamindari* rights in the *subas* of Ajmer and Agra and also enjoyed *Zamindari* rights of Deccan, Sambhar, Naraina, Naeta, Sanganer, Phagi and Muzabad (Mauzabad).[47] According to *Ain-i-Akbari*, "It comprised nearly 1/5th of the area of the *sarkar* of Ajmer having 1,135,095 *bighas* of measured land and assessed revenue of 12,256,297 *dams*[Revenue]."[48]

Raja Bhagwant Das (1562-1575) and his military activities

Raja Bhagwan Das[49] joined the Mughal service along with other Kachawaha Princes in 1562 A.D. In the beginning of April, 1569 A.D., Akbar came back to Fatehpur Sikri from Ajmer, he arrived near Amber. Bhagwan Das received him and the emperor stayed in his house. It was an important day for the Kachawaha, they were honoured by an emperor visit. Kachhwaha prince offered valuable gifts to emperor.[50] Subsequently Bhagwan Das played an important role in many battles under Akbar.

[44] Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol.II, eng. Tr., W. H., Lowe, Delhi, 1899, p.45.
[45] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol.II, op.cit, p.157.
[46] Afzal Husain, Marriage among Mughal Nobles As An index of Status and Aristocratic Integration , *P.H.I.C.*, Thirty Third Session, Muzaffarpur, 1972, New Delhi, 1973, pp.304-312.
[47] Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, 1893, p.130, *Ain*, Vol.II, tr., p.278, Expansion of the territory of the Kachawahas in Mughal times, p.177, Syed Inayat Ali Zaidi, *The Mughals and the Rajputs 1605-1659 A.D.* (unpublished thesis), C.A.S., A.M.U., Aligarh, 1982, pp.5-6.
[48] Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, 1893, p.130, Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, tr. Colonel H.S. Jarrett, New Delhi, 1878, p.278.
[49] Spelling of his name is different in varied source such as Bhagwant, Bhagwānt, and Bhagwūn, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* and *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* also see translated work of *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.I, and p.353.
[50] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol.II, op.cit., p.158, Rafaqat Ali Khan, *The Kachawahas under Akbar and Jahangir*, p.18.

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Gujarat Expedition (1572-1573)

Akbar sent Bhagwan Das and his son Man Singh to the Gujarat expedition.[51] Gujarat campaign was the first independent command entrusted to Kachawahas.[52] On 23rd December 1572 A.D. Sarnal campaign was an actual responsibility given to Bhagwan Das and Man Singh.[53] This campaign was an important marker in his career. Bharamar and his Kachawaha chiefs displayed bravery and courage. His relatives sacrificed their life in this battle.[54]

Bhupat was his younger brother he was surrounded by a large number of enemies, he fought bravely but was killed by enemies in this battle. When Akbar stayed with Bhagwan Das, enemy soldiers attacked them, Kachawaha prince displayed courage and wounded one of them. This battle went in the favours of Kachawaha princes. Ibrahim Husain Mirza fled towards Idar. After the battle of Sarnal, Bhagwan Das had distinguished him and was therefore honoured with the grant of a standard and a kettledrum.[55]

On August 1573 A.D., Akbar sent Bhagwan Das to suppress the rebellion of Muhammad Hussain Mirza in Gujarat. He had the responsibility of advanced guard. He captured himon 2nd September, 1573 A.D. he stayed with Akbar during the battle of Ahmadabad. The imperial army second time won Gujarat.Mughal army contingent was very smallas compared to enemies.[56]

Bhagwan Das captured important fort of Rawaliya. When Akbar received news that fort was in the possession of the imperial officers.[57] Bhagwan Das became a permanent and important general.He remained in close contact with the emperor. He was however never assigned any significantly responsible job. Kachawaha tribe came into eminence after the Gujarat campaign.[58]

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[51] *Kachhawan Ri Vanshavali*, op.cit., p.81.
[52] Refaqat Ali Khan, *The Kachhawahas under Akbar and Jahangir*, op.cit., pp. 20-21.
[53] V.A. Smith, *Akbar The Great Mughal 1542-1605*, Delhi, 1962, pp.79-80, Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, pp.309-310.
[54] Refaqat Ali, *The Kachhawahas under Akbar and Jahangir*, op.cit., p.24.
[55] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, op.cit., p.15, Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, pp.310-311, Ali Muhammad Khan, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Part.I, ed. Syed Nwab Ali, Baroda, 1928, pp.123-124.
[56] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, p. 52, Tr., p.75.
[57] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, op.cit.,pp.47-66, Ali Muhammad, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, pp.130-131, Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*., Vol.II, p.310.
[58] Refaqat Ali, *The Kachhawahas under Akbar and Jahangir*,op.cit., p.28.

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The campaign against Rana of Mewar

Raja Bhagwan Das, Shah Quli Khan Mahram and Lashkar Khan alongwith other officers pursued Rana Pratap to submit.[59]Akbar had to deal with Rana of Mewar because firstly he had communication and checks to the entry of the enemies from Gujarat on the Mewar-Marwar border. Von Noer opines about the strategy of Akbar against Rana, he appointed Rajput commander against Rajputs because they were well acquainted about their battle. According to him, "brother is most bitter against brother on the field of battle."[60]

Akbar sent Bhagwan Das and Man Singh with a large army against Rana's territory. He came to Goganda.[61] This was a headquarter of Rana. In September, 1573 A.D. his expedition was substantially different.On18thMarch, 1576 A.D., he sent five thousand soldiers, which included Central Asia's select mounted archers and Badakhshito accompany Man Singh and Bhagwan Das against Rana.[62]

Akbar had full trust in his army so he returned to Fatehpur Sikri, Bhagwan Das also returned with him. He entrusted responsibility to Man Singh becauseof his cool nature, alert eyes and intelligent steps of wars, these were important for this campaign. He personally guided every section of his troops. In June, 1576, he took position in the central wing.[63] The imperial army marched from Ajmer towards Goganda via Mandalgarh and two armies met at the village of Kamnur. He was achieved the hard won victory but he could not capture him.[64]

Akbarimmediately marched for Ajmer to supervise his army against Rana.[65]In September, 1576 A.D., he reached Ajmer along with Bhagwan Das.[66] Rajput troops did not make any efforts in this war, Mughal officers were disappointed with him and

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[59]Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, op.cit., pp.47-66, Ali Muhammad Khan, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, pp.130-131, Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, p.310.

[60]Von Noer, *The Emperor Akbar*, Vol.II, tr.A.S. Beveridge, Calcutta, 1890, pp.244-245.

[61]Goganda is situated in 16 miles north-west of Udaipur, surrounded by hilly area, thick forest and standing 2757 feet above sea level, J.N. Sarkar, *History of Jaipur*, p.45.

[62]Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol.II,op.cit., p.333, Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, p.176.

[63]Ibid, pp.333-334, AbulFazl, *Akbarnama*,Vol.III, p.176, see also J.N. Sarkar, *History of Jaipur*, p.47.

[64]Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*,Vol.III, op.cit, p.176, Badauni says that, "it [Haldighati] was 7 kos from Goganda." Badauni gives the most important information of this battle, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, p.235.

[65]Badauni, *Mutakhab-utTawarikh*, Vol.II, op.cit., p.228. Badauni participated in this battle, he had written about his conversation with Akbar and Man Singh on the issue of battle and he gave much more detail about this battle as compared to other sources, pp.235-237.

[66]Nizamuddin Ahmad,*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*,Vol.II, op.cit.,p.475, Muhammad Arif Qandhari, *Tarikh-i-Akbari*, ed. Muinuddin Nadvi, Azhar Ali Dihlavi, Raza Library, Rampur, 1962, p.206, Badauni, *Mutakhab-utTawarikh*, Vol.II , p.228, Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, p.156.

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they had little doubt in his sincerity. Man Singh spent about three months at Goganda after his hard won victory at Haldighati but he failed to captured or kill the Rana.[67]Rana avoided the battle of field and fought the battle behind the hills. Akbar sent his two armies simultaneously against Rana of Mewar and Narain Das of Idar. Bhagwan Das joined the army against Mewar and it was joint commandership of Qubuddin Khan and Bhagwan Das.The order was that "they might to go into the hollows of the hill sand lay hands on the villainous dwellers in the ravine."[68]

They had also received the order to attend the *Haj* carvan through Mewar. They were passing through Haldighati and Goganda, Bhagwan Das attended the carvan safely up to Panwara where the responsibility of the security of the imperial ladies for pilgrims was held by another army.[69] But they did not achieve any success against Rana, Akbar gave another chance to them, he had adopted new strategy of battle against Rana. He deputed Bhagwan Das, Man Singh under the command of the veteran leader Qasim Khan, Mir Bahr and Mirza Khan against Rana. Shahbaz Khan was appointed to the commander of this force and the execution of the task was committed to him.[70]

Once again they did not achieve any success with a long period. Shahbaz Khan had little doubt on their sincerity and he sent them back to imperial court saying that 'left from their feelings as landholders there might be delay in inflicting retribution on that vain disturber (Rana)'.[71]But Akbar continued his trust on them. They came back to the court.[72]

His other activities:

In the early 1579 A.D., Bhagwan Das was assigned the *jagir* of Punjab and other Kachawahas were sent with him to Punjab. He had received this honour for the first time.[73]

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[67] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*,Vol.III, op.cit., p.176, Badauni, *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh*, Vol.II, p.233, Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*., Vol.II, p.335.
[68] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*., Vol.III, op.cit., pp.191-192, Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, pp.335-336.
[69] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, op.cit., pp.185-192, Badauni, *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh*, Vol.II, pp.241-242, Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*., Vol.II, p.496.
[70] Ibid, p.218.
[71] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, op.cit., p.238.
[72] Rafaqat Ali Khan, *The Kachhawahas under Akbar and Jahangir*,op.cit, p.37, Shyamaldas, *Vir Vinod*, Vol.II, Pt.I, Udaipur,1943, p.156.
[73] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, op.cit., p.262.

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In October 1579 A.D., Akbar gave the order to Saeed Khan, Bhagwan Daswas sent against Shahrukh of Badakshan. They decided to start the battle in coming winter. Mirza Sulaiman, the grandfather of Mirza Shahrukh, agreed to divide the kingdom between them.[74] On 6 February, 1581 A.D., Mirza Hakim attacked Lahore. Bhagwan Das and his officers Jagan Nath, Man Singh, Suraj Singh and Alu Khan of Punjab, opposed Hakim according to instructions, he and his officers defended with very bravery.[75] After the victory of Lahore hewent to appreciate Akbar, paid his respects to him at Machiwara on the west bank of Sutlaj. After this he joined emperor's camp and proceeded with him towards Kabul.[76]

Akbar introduced two post of *Subedari* in each *Suba* in 1586 A.D. Thus we find Bhagwan Das and Man Singh, Jagannath, Raja Askaran were appointed co-governors in four provinces Ajmer, Agra, Lahore and Kabul respectively.[77]

On 20 December, 1585 A.D., Akbar sent Bhagwan Das with Mirza Shahrukh, Shah Quli Muharam to conquer Kashmir. He and his army were not prepared to risk disaster and made a caution plan to attack the enemy after the winter was over, and to go by Bhimbar, which had a wide pass to enable a large army to cross it without much difficulties. They arranged the communication line, the base was not made, nor was there arrangement for the regular supply of stores and provisions. He decided to attack weakest point of Kashmiri resistance. He gave a proposalof an alliance of peace to Yusuf Khan who agreed to pay personal homage to Akbar. He knew that it was not true because the people did not trust theft king (Yusuf Khan) and they elected Husain Khan Chak.[78]

On 28 March 1586 A.D., He was overlooking the mandate of conquering the first country. He guaranteed safety of Yusuf Shah's life and honour, he made alliance

[74] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*., Vol.III, op.cit.,p.288, an important thing is that some of Kachawahas were left their post in the Punjab and went to their homes.

[75] Ibid, pp.345-346.

[76] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*,Vol.III, op.cit., pp.346-347, Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*., Vol.II, p.584, Naizamuddin wrote that, "Bhagwan Das and Man Singh who were governors of Punjab were ordered to cross the river Indus". Abul Fazl gave the different information in his account, "Bhagwan Das stayed with emperor and Man Singh was ordered to cross the river. Moreover, Man Singh was never appointed sole or joint governor."

[77] Badauni and Nizamuddin gave this information, about their joint governorship, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*., p.349 but Abul Fazl does not give this type of information, Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, p.511.

[78] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, op.cit., p.480-481, Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol.II, p.360-363, Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*., Vol.II, pp.369-340, Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, pp.266.

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between them.[79] This agreement was made between Yusuf of Kashmir and Akbar. Bhagwan Das played a big role in this agreement.He took the responsibility of Yusuf's life and honour. Yusuf would be ready to read the *Khutba* in the name of Akbar and stamp coins also with his name. Beside which the income from Mint, Saffron, game, silk and wool would be collected by imperial officers[80] Yusuf and his son Yaqub Khan came into the imperial camp.[81]But Akbar did not trust him and he was imprisoned. Bhagwan Das was shocked by this incident. Smith cites Badauni's account on this incident that, "Badauni, on the contrary that Akbar having intended to violate the safe-conduct and execute the Sultan, the Raja, on hearing of the perfidious design, stabbed himself in order to vindicate his Rajput honour."[82]

After this incident his confidence shattered, and he could not recover, his political career was finished. He had suffered humiliation.[83] At that time he was the head of suba of Kabul, he crossed the Indus and established his camp in Khairabad. After sometimes, he was suddenly taken ill. His condition was so serious that he had to be removed to Attack for treatment. According to *Akbarnama* he attempted suicide due to insanity.[84]

This evidence is not corroborated by *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, "in order to save his self conduct and sense of honour struck he with a dagger."[85] Akbar received this news, he sent four of his personal physicians for his treatment.[86] On 26 April, 1589 A.D., Akbar had given the charge of Lahore to Bhagwan Das, Todar Mal and Qulij Khan. In November 1589 A.D., Todarmal died and Bhagwan Das attended the cremation of Todar Mal but when he returned to his house,he died.[87]

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[79]Ibid, p.488-489, see also *The Kachhawahas under Akbar and Jahangir*, pp.49-50, Smith, *Akbar The Great Mughal*, pp.172-173.
[80]Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, op.cit., pp.475-481, Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, pp.612-613, Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, pp.348-352, Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, Vol.II, p.367, Bayazid Bayat, *Tazkara Humayun wa Akbar*, Calcutta, 1941, p.369, we can see also *The Kachawahas under Akbar and Jahangir*, p.50, Smith,*Akbar: The Great Mogul*, p.173.
[81]Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawakh*,Vol.II, op.cit., p.353.
[82]V.A. Smith, *Akbar The Great Mughal 1542-1605*, op.cit.,p.173.
[83]Refuqat Ali Khan, *The Kachhawahas under Akbar and Jahangir*, op.cit., pp.51-52, Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*., III, p.491.
[84]Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol.III,op.cit., p.744.
[85] Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol.II, op.cit., p.353.
[86]Rafaqat Ali Khan,*The Kachawahas under Akbar and Jahangir*, op.cit., pp.53-54.
[87]Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*., Vol.III, op.cit., p.570, Shyamaldas, *VirVinod*, p.1278, Ferishta, *Tarikh i-Ferishta*., Vol.II, p.167, Ferishta wrote after hearing the news of the death both of Raja Bhagwandas and Raja Todar Mal.

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Man Singh and his activities

Man Singh[88] was the first Kachhwaha noble to be created a commander of seven thousand.[89] During the time of Bhagwan Das and Man Singh[90], Amber became a powerful state of Rajputana. *Ain-i-Akbari* gives information of Kachawaha position at Mughal Empire after their joining the Mughal service, "Kachwahas were celebrated among the Rajputs were now a powerful tribe commanding strength of 20,000 cavalry and 1, 00,000 foot."[91]

Jahangir also wrote about Man Singh's position at the time of his father-

"راجہ مانسنگھ را کہ از امرا معتبر و معتمد پدرم بود و او رادریں خاندان عظیم الشان نسبتها و وصلتها

ست داده چنانچہ عمہ او در خانہ پدرم بود."[92]

"I made Raja Man Singh- who was one of the greatest and most trusted noblemen of my father, and obtained alliances with this illustrious family."[93]

In 1562 A.D., Man Singh came to Mughal court and military camp with his father Bhagwan Das.[94] Bhagwan Das provided him with military training. In 1572 A.D., he fought first battle. In the beginning of Gujarat campaign Akbar gave order to him to pursue and capture the sons of Sher Khan Fauladi. Akbar appointed him the commander of the vanguard before the battle of Sarnal.[95]

Man Singh was an eminent noble of Akbar, he had received highest *mansab*. He became legendary figure in his own life time due to his bravery and wisdom.[96] No

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[88] Man Singh had twelve sons namely Jagatsingh, Sakatsingh, Himmat Singh, Bhao Singh, Sabal Singh, Durjan Singh, Shyam Singh, Sikarisingh, Kesodas, Kalyansingh, Ram Singh and Atibalsingh, six of them died issueless, *Kachhawan Ri Vanshavali*, pp.85-86.

[89] R.P Khosla, *Mughal Kingship and Nobility*, Delhi, 1976, p.222, *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, has also discussed his social and religious life, pp.103-111, Rana Muhammad Sarwar Khan, *The Rajputs History, Clans, Cultural and Nobility*, Vol.I, Lahore (Pakistan), 2005, p.192.

[90] According to *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Man Singh was called *Shaikhwat*, he narrates us the reason about this statement that "his ancestors was not having any child. A Saintly darwish *Shaikh* came to his aid and prayed (for him). The exalted God granted him a son, who was named the sheikh……., p.103, tr., p.74, Shahnawaz also gives the same statement, "Man Singh was of *Shaikhawat* branch and Bhagwan –das of *Rajawat* that he was apparently an adopted son of him." p.48.

[91] Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, tr., Vol.III, op.cit, p.177.

[92] Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, ed. Saiyid Ahmad Khan, Ghazipur, 1863, p.7.

[93] Jahangir, *TheTuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, tr. Alexander Rogers, ed. Henry Beveridge, Delhi, 1978, p.15.

[94] Tod says that, "Man Singh, nephew and successor of Bhagwandas, was most brilliant character of Akbar's court,"*Annanls and Antiquities of Rajasthan or The Central and Western Rajput State ofIndia*, Vol.III,op.cit., p.1338, see also Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, Vol.II, p.267, Abul Fazl says that Man Singh was the son of Raja Bhagwan Das, Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol.II, pp.157-158.

[95] Refaqat Ali Khan, *The Kachhawahas under Akbar and Jahangir*, op.cit., p.58.

[96] Nizamduddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit.,p.332.

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less than half of the conquest under Akbar was commanded by Man Singh. As a military general he played most important role in Mewar campaign against Rana Pratap from 1576 to 1578 and Orissa campaign in 1592 A.D.[97] He was appointed as a governor of different provinces like Kabul, Bihar and Bengal under Akbar.[98]Akbar ordered him to proceed towardsKabul in 1585 A.D.He also suppressed the rebellion of Raushaniyas at Kabul.[99] Abul Fazl says that, "Kunwar Man Singh should collect the fiefs holders of Kuchhiwara and hasten to meet the emperor."[100]

Akbar gave separate *Jagir* to Man Singh in Sialkot. Kachawahas held highest *mansabs* received,[101] extensive *Jagirs* outside Rajasthan and also *watan jagir* (home *zamindari*). During hisstay in Bihar, he brought to submission Puran Mal, Sangram and Anand Chauras. They were rebel leaders of Bihar.He also conquered Orissa in 1592 A.D.[102] He stayed in Bihar and Bengal in December 1587 and 1594 and March, 1594 to 1602-1605 A.D.[103] The *Jagirdars* of Bengal like Pahar Khan, Babu-i-Mankali and Patr Das joined him with their artillery. Since he was assigned *jagirs* to several Afghans in the *sarkar* of Khalifabad. He had full control on Bengal territory, because heexercised control on officers of Bengal and adjoining territories. Bengal came under his 'sphere of influence' in 1590 A.D.[104]

Afghans of Orissa sacked the temple of Jagannath and attacked Raja Hamir of Vishnupuri. Man Singh attacked the Afghans, and defeated them. In 1592 A.D., finally he defeated Afghans, Orissa came under the control of Mughal Empire.[105]After this victory, he adopted the policy of leniency towards them. He assigned *jagirs* to them in Khafabad in the *suba* of Bengal. But after some time, he revised his policy, he

[97] Persian sources provide the detail about the activities of Man Singh in this campaign, Abul Fazl,*Akbarnama*, Vol.III, pp.166-218, Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol.II, pp.224-239, Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*., Vol.II, 323-328.
[98] Afzal Husain, Provincial Governors under Akbar (1580-1605),*P.I.H.C*, Delhi, 1970, pp.273-276.
[99] Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, Vol.II, op.cit, p.266.
[100] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, op.cit., p.43.
[101] Ibid, p.575, see also Afzal Husain, *Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir*, p.96.
[102] Ibid.p.537, Man Singh's activities in Bihar see *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, pp.579-81, 611-13, and 615,631-632, see also Afzal Husain, *Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir*, p.96 Charles Stewart, *History of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1910, pp.206-208.
[103] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol-III, op.cit., p.570.
[104] Ibid, pp.611-632, Rafaqat Ali Khan, *The Kachhawahas under Akbar and Jahangir*, p.90.
[105] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, op.cit., pp.611-613, 615-616, 631, Nizamuddin Ahmad,*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, p.420, Stewart, *History of Bengal*, p.209-210.

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took away their *jagirs* and summoned them to his presence. The province of Orissa was once again under imperial dominions and he obtained credit for his victory.[106]

Puran Mal of Gidhaur and Sangram Singh of Kharagpur were two main *zamindars* of Bihar. They had personal enmity. In 1580-1582 A.D., a rebellion broke out in Bihar. Sangram Singh supported Mughals while Puran Mal supported the rebels.The attitude of Man Singh towards the *zamindars* of Orissa and Bihar was harsh.[107]

In 1594 A.D., Akbar gave the charge of Bengal to him. Man Singh requested that his eldest son Jagat Singh be made deputy governor of Bengal, but his son died therefore Jagat Singh's son Maha Singh was appointed in his place and his uncle Pratap Singh was made his guardian. Both of them were unable to control the Afghans.[108] In 1599 A.D., he was required to accompany Prince Salim in an expedition against Mewar.[109] In 1013A.H./1604 he resigned from eastern provincesand came back to Agra, he received great honour.[110]

After death of Akbar (16thJamad-ul-Akhir 1014 A.H/ October 1605 A.D.), the war of succession commenced between Jahangir and his son Khusrau.[111] Man Singh supported Khusrau because he was his nephew.[112] After Jahangir's accession Man Singh was again appointed governor of Bengal. Some Kachawaha nobles were given promotion and there was a substantial increase in their *sawar* rank. He returned from Bengal to Mughal court. In 1608 A.D., he was deputed to the Deccan to serve under Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khana. In 1609 A.D., He reached Deccan state. After Jahangir's accession, he could not trust on him. Thus he was removed from the governorship of

[106] Ibid, p.631, see also Rafaqat Ali, *The Kachhawahas under Akbar and Jahangir*, pp.104-105, Stewart, *History of Bengal*, p.211.
[107] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*., Vol.III, op.cit., pp.460-461.
[108] Man Singh's activities in Bengal see for this Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, pp.770-788, Stewart, *History of Bengal*, p.214.
[109] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, op.cit., p.575,Afzal Husain, *Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir*, p.96.
[110] Stewart, *History of Bengal*, op.cit, p.215, Stewart says that, "The cause of Raja Man Singh's resignation of so valuable a government, in which he was considered as established for life, will be elucidated by the following extract from the History of Hindoostan." p.216.
[111] Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, op.cit., pp.4-5.
[112] Shaikh Farid Bakkari, *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol.I, op.cit., p.61, Shahnawaz Khan, *Ma'asir-ul-umara*, Vol.II, ed. Ashraf Ali, Calcutta, 1968, p.635, Khwaja Ni'amatullah, *Tarikh-i-Khan Jahani wa Makhzani Afghani*, Vol.II, ed. S.M. Imam Al-Din, Dacca, 1962, p.654.

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Bengal. He reached the Deccan in 1609A.D., He died at Ellichpur (Achalpur) in 1614 A.D.[113]

List of Kachhwaha *mansabdars* under Akbar

Source- *Ain-i Akbari*[114]

Name	*Mansab*
Bharahmal	5000
Bhagwandas	5000
Man Singh	5000
Jagannath	2500
Madhava Singh	1500
Rai Sal Darbari	1250
Rupsi Bairagi	1000
Jagmal	1000
Raj Singh	900
Ram Das Kachhwaha	500

Position of Kachawahas after the death of Akbar at Mughal court

We see that a large number of Kachawahas had accepted the sovereignty of MughalEmpire. Many other Rajputs of Rajasthan resented this from political point of view their step was right for safety of their territory. Before their alliance with Mughals, they were notimportant. The Mughal alliance provided them with an opportunity to strengthen their position in Rajasthan in 1562 A.D. Amber became a prestigious state of Rajasthan. Mughal emperor increased their *mansab* according to their activities in expeditions. They participated in court politics, administration and other activities.[115]

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[113] Stewart, *History of Bengal*, op.cit., p.217.

[114] Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*,Vol.I, op.cit., pp.160-163, *Ain* gave information the *mansab* of Kachawahas and relationship between them.

[115] Akbar was treat to the Rajputs with kindness and consideration, and patronise them, since they were not given to transgression and disobedience, but were amenable to obedience and service, Shaikh

Raja Jagat Singh, Mirza Raja Bhao Singh, Durjan Singh, Himmat Singh, Sabal Singh were the sons of Man Singh. Jai Singh was the son of Maha Singh and grandson of Jagat Singh and great grandson of Man Singh.[116] Jagat Singh participated in the battle of Kaul with his father. He fought successful battle against Afghans at Patna in 1590 A.D. Akbar sent himto the northern hills in April, 1597 A.D. He died on 26 September, 1599.[117]

Maha Singh entered Mughal court with his father in1594 A.D., Akbar appointed him as the deputy of Man Singh.[118] He was minor in age so Pratap Singh (his uncle) was appointed his guardian. They faced defeat against Afghans in May 1600 A.D.After this defeat Man Singh had given the charge of Goraghat to him.[119]

Man Singh sent Maha Singh with Baqar Ansari to assist him. Their forces went to Kohakra. He fought bravely and took the risk of his own life.He attacked Jalal but he ran away from his place.[120] Then he turned his attention towards Qazi Momin. He was rebel in the district of Purnia. He attacked and latter killed him. Early career of Maha Singh was spent in Bengal. He helped his grandfather in restoring peace in this state. Akbar gave him a *mansab* of 2,000 *Zat* and 300 *Sawar* in 1605 A.D.[121], we see that Akbar gave a higher *mansab* to Maha Singh as compared to sons of Man Singh.

After the accession of Jahangir in1606 A.D., he appointed him against Bangash in 1607 A.D. His *ataliq* was Ram Das Kachawaha. His *mansab* increased to 3,000 *Zat* and 2,000 *Sawar*, 4,000 *Zat* and 3,000 *Sawar* and he also gave him Garha as an *inam*.[122]

Jahangir sent Maha Singh to administer the *jagir* of Man Singh. This *jagir* was near Bandugarh. After Man Singh died, Maha was not appointed as a Raja of Amber, Jahangir recognized Bhao Singh as a Raja of Amber in 5th of *Samvat* 1674 V.S.[123] But

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Farid Bhakkari, *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol.I, pp.103-104, Rafaqat Ali, *The Kachawahas under Akbar and Jahangir*, p.187.

[116] Qazwini, *Badshahnama*, pt-b, Rotograph (R No-191), Rieu i/258 b, B.M MS. No.or.173, C.A.S Department of History, A.M.U., Aligarh, ff.27a, b.

[117] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, op.cit., p.763.

[118] Ibid.

[119] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, op.cit., p.808.

[120] Ibid.

[121] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol.III, op.cit., p.839.

[122] Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, op.cit, pp.130, 146, Shahnawaz Khan, *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.II, p.175.

[123] *Kachhawan Ri Vanshawali*, op.cit., p.92. According to Inayat Zaidi, "It was clear indication of their weakness that they were forced to submit silently to the further tightening of imperial control over

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he was not againstMaha Singh, and it is true that he was one of the favourite of Akbar in Man Singh's family. He gives a reason for his decision in his autobiography, "Although the chief ship and headship of their family, according to the Hindu custom, should go to Maha Singh, son of Jagat Singh, the Raja's (Man Singh) eldest son, who had died in the latter's lifetime, I did not the latter's lifetime, I did not accept him."[124]

We cannot say that Jahangir did not like Maha Singh because he increased his *mansab* time to time and entrustedresponsibilities of important works. Bhao Singh was only surviving son of Man Singh. Maha Singh was the grandson of Man Singh. So Jahangir had chosen his son. Jahangir sent Maha Singh to Deccan, where he died at Berar in September, 1617 A.D. Maha Singh and his father died of excessive drinking at an early age.[125]

(B)Early Career of Jai Singh under Jahangir

Jai Singh was the son of Maha Singh and Damyanti.[126] He was born in 1668 V.S./1611 A.D.[127] Bhao Singh had no son. After his death Jai Singh occupied the seat of Amber in 4th*Samvat* 1678 V.S./1621 A.D.[128]In 1031A.H / 1621 A.D., he received the *mansab* of 2,000 *Zat* and 1,000 *Sawar* to 3,000 *Zat* and 14,00 *Sawar*.[129] After his accession, Kachawaha nobles entered a fresh and unrivalled stage of prosperity and fame.[130]

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their clan." Inayat Zaidi, The political role of Kachhwaha Noble during Jahangir's reign (180-195), *P.I.H.C*, 1975, p.185, Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.I, tr. H. Blochmann, ed. Lieut-Colonel, Delhi, 1927, p.363, for the account of Bhao Singh's career see Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangir*, pp.10, 66, 81,140,218-219.

[124]Jahangir,*Tuzuk-i-Jahangir*, op.cit.,p.266.

[125]Rafiqat Ali, *Kachhwahas under Akbar and Jahangir*, op.cit, p.164, V.S. Bhargava, *Rise of the Kachhawas in Dhundar (Jaipur)*, p.43.

[126]Munhata Nainsi refers that Jai Singh's mother was the daughter of Saha, he was brother of RanaSanga and Jagmal. MunhataNainsi, *Munhata Nainsi- ri Khyāt*, p.25, we can collect this information from, *Kachhawaha Ri Vanshavali*, p.30, Accòrding to Bernier, "Mirza Raja; of Rajawat branch of the Kachawahas of Amber (Jaipur), a Rajput clan of great antiquity and renown. This clan traces its origin to DholaRai, who is said to have founded the state of Amber", Francois Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire 1656-1668*, tr. Archibald Constable, New Delhi, pp.34-35.

[127]Shaikh Farid Bhakkari, *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol.I, op.cit., p.111.

[128]*Kachhawan Ri Vansharvali*, op.cit, p.96, Tod, *Annanls and Antiquities of Rajasthan or The Centraland Western Rajput State of India*, Vol.III, pp.1339-1340, Tod had written that Jagat Singh was a brother of Man Singh, Jagat was not the brother of Man Singh. He was the son of Man Singh. It is proved from *Persian* and *Rajisthani* sources.

[129]Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, op.cit. pp.337, 359.

[130]Sarkar, *History of Jaipur*, op.cit., p.92.

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During Prince Khurram's rebellion, he remained firm in his allegiance to Jahangir.[131] He was sent with Parwez and Mahabat Khan and many other Kachawahas like Suraj Singh, Fazil Khan, Raja Girdar, Akram Khan to pursue Khurram.[132] They overtook Khurram near Mandu and Jai Singh played an important role in the battle.[133] After this victory Jahangir acknowledged the service of Jai Singh in his *Farman* (Old no. 5/ New no.2, dated: 2 Shawwal 1032 A.H. / 20th July 1623 A.D.) addressed to him-

"Appreciating the services of Raja Jai Singh and desiring him not to act against the wishes of Prince Parvez and Mahabat Khan. And we are happy with your excellent service."[134]

Appendix –A: *Farman* (dated: 2 Shawwal 1032 A.H. / 20th July 1623 A.D.) issued by Jahangir to Raja Jai Singh

Source: *Farasi Farmano ke Prakash mai Mughalkalain Bhart va Rajput Shasak*, p.10

[131] Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangir*, op.cit., p.360, Mutamid Khan, *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, ed. Maulvi Abdul Hai and Maulvi Ahmad Ali, Calcutta, 1845, p.584.

[132] Mutamid Khan, *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangir*, op.cit., p.584.

[133] Inayad Zaidi gives full information about this battle in his article, The political role of Kachhwaha Noble during Jahangir's reign (180-195), but we have not found any activities of Jai Singh in this battle, p.186.

[134] *Farasi Farmano ke prakash mai Mughalkal in Bhart va Rajput Sashak*, Vol.I, Hindi tr Shujauddin Khan Naqshbandi, ed. Mahendra Khadgawat, Rajasthan State Archive, Bikaner,2010, pp.10-11, *A Descriptive List of Farmans, Manshurs, Nishans*, Directorate of Archives, Govt. of Rajasthan, Bikaner, 1962,p.1, Appendix-A

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Nur Jahan gave advice to Jai Singh in a *Nishan,* she says that Jahangir had full confidence on him. She encouraged him, to make every effort to protect the Mughal Empire. Jahangir was satisfied with his brave nature. She informs that his *mansab* increased from one thousand horsemen and he should not trust Khuram.[135]

He issued another *Farman* (Old no.4 / New no.3, dated: 24th Jamad-al-Awwal 1033 A.H. / 4th March 1624 A.D.)to him, this *Farman* was to discharge his duties faithfully which would enable him to win over the His Majesty.He gave order to him that he has followed the orders and instructions of Mahabat Khan and Prince Parvez and work was not done against him-

"Jahangir sent the *Khilat* with hands of Ahmad Beg to Jai Singh. Desiring him to discharge his duties faithfully this would enable him to win the Royal favours. He was especially warned not to go against the wishes of Prince Parvez and Mahabat Khan Khan."[136]

Appendix-B: *Farman* (dated: 24th Jamad-al-Awwal 1033 A.H. / 4th March 1624 A.D.) issued by Jahangir to Raja Jai Singh

Source: *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I, p.12

[135] G.N. Bahura, *Catalogue of Historical Documents in Kapad Dawar*, Vol.I, Jaipur, 1988, p.44, this *Nishan* is preserved in Art Gallery of Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner, 'Desiring the Raja to report everything to royal court and not to act against Royal orders', it is undated *nishan, Persian (Nastaliq)*, 83X37.5 cm, bears *tughra.*

[136] *FFPMBRS*, pp.12-13, *DLFMN*, p.1, Appendix-B.

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At this time, Jai Singh was of minor age but he participated in the battle against Khurram. Jahangir appreciated his participation in the battle on the report of Parvez and Mahabat Khan. Jahangir expressed his feeling to him in this *Farman* (Old no. 6 / New no.4, dated: 22nd Zi-l-hijja 1033 A.H. / 25th September 1624 A.D.)-

"Expressing pleasure at the Raja's conquest reported to His Majesty by Prince Parvez and Khan-i-Khana, he sent the *Khilat* to him."[137]

On 24th October 1624 A.D., Hajipur battle took place near Jaunpur between imperial army commanded by Parvez and Khurram's army. Jai Singh and Gaj Singh along with other Rajputs were posted to the left wing and he was also posted in the reserve with five thousand horse and fifty experienced elephant of Mahabat Khan. He played a distinguished role in thisbattle.[138] Khan-i-Jahan Lodi replaced Mahabat Khan, he was honourable and important commander of imperial army in Deccan. Mahabat Khan stood against Jahangir.[139]

Political situation had totally changed.Mughal general's revolt against his emperor, and son revolt against his father, his queen conspired for the throne. This situation was very difficult for Jai Singh but he did not involve himself with any faction and played only his imperial duty. Jahangir and Nur Jahan wanted to secure Jai Singh's support if he had to maintain good terms with him it could harm them so they warned him. At this time Jahangir issued two *Farmans* to Jai Singh, one was issued on 7th June 1625 (Old no.12/ New no.6) and other was 7th August 1625 A.D. (Old no.13/ New no.7), these *Farmans* informed him that he had appointed Khan-i-Jahan Lodi as commander-in-chief in Deccan. He was directed to act according to his instructions-

'Informing the Raja to obey Khan-i-Jahan who has been appointed a tutor to the Prince and commander-in-Chief and further ordering, if anyone has a concern with the Khan-i-Khana his *jagir* will be confiscated and other exemplary punishment will be given.'[140]

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[137] *FFPMBRS*, op.cit. pp.14-15, *DLFMN*, p.1.

[138] Shyamaldas, *Vir Vinod*, vol.II, pt.I, op.cit.,p.286-287, Inayat Zaidi,The political role of Kachhwaha Noble during Jahangir's reign (180-195) p.187, Mirza Nathan, *Bahāristān-i-Ghaybi*, Vol.II, tr. M.I. Borah, Narayani, Assam, 1936, p.758.

[139] Francisco Pelsaert, *A Dutch chronicle of Mughal India*, tr. & ed. Brij Narain, Sri Ram Sharma, Calcutta, 1957, p.74.

[140] *FFPMBRS*, op.cit., pp.18-19, 20-21, *DLFMN*, pp.1-2.

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He gave the order to him that he should immediately rejoin Khan-i-Jahan Lodi in *Farman* (Old no.14/ New no.8 dated 23rd August 1625 A.D).-

'The indifference of the Raja to co-operate with Khan-i-Jahan has met with Royal displeasure. It is ordered to rejoin him (Khan-i-Jahan) immediately and in future declared that anyone who behaves like that in future will be liable to the confiscation of *Jagir* and *Mansab*.'[141]

Appendix –C: *Farman* (dated: 23rd August 1625 A.D.) issued by Jahangir to Raja Jai Singh

Source: *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I, p.22

In 1627 A.D., A *Nishan* was issued forbidding Jai Singh in1627. His *mansab* was raised to 4,000 *Zat* /2500 *Sawar* and he received the title of Raja. The *Pargana*

[141] *FFPMBRS*, op.cit., pp.22-23, *DLFMN*, p.2, Appendix-C.

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Chatsu[142] was added to his *Jagirs*.[143] At the time of Jahangir's death Jai Singh was still in Deccan. He received the news of Dawar Bakhsh by *Nishan* (Old No.21/New no.176, dated 21st Shawwal, 1036 A.H./25th June,1627 A.D.) to him-

Dawar Bakhsh Informed Raja Jai Singh about the death of Emperor Jahangir and his [Dawar Bakhsh] accession to the throne with the consent of Empress Noor Jahan.'[144]

Appendix – D: *Nishan* (dated 21st Shawwal, 1036 A.H./25th June, 1627 A.D) issued by Dawar Bakhsh to Raja Jai Singh

Source: *FFPMBRS*, Vol.III, p.20

[142]Chatsu is large and ancient town which is situated about thirty five miles South-west from Deosa and about twenty five miles South from Jaipur, Cunningham,Vol.VI, p.116.

[143] G.N.Bahura, Chandramani Singh, *Catalogue of Historical Documents in Kapad Dawar*, Voll, op.cit, p.IV.

[144] *Farsi Farmano ke prakash me Mughalkal in Bharat evam Mughal Sashk*, Vol.III, 2015, pp.20-21.*DLFMN*, p.29, Appendix-D.

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They were left Khan-i-Jahan Lodi in Lahore and proceeded to join Khurram near Ajmer.[145] Khuram acceded the throne (1685 V.S. / 1037 A.H./1628 A.D.) with the title of *Shahabuddin Mohammad Sahbqirani Sani Shahjahan*,[146] Jai Singh was away from Lahore in the company of Khan-i-Jahan. On the way, he and Gaj Singh separated from Khan-i-Jahan who was not prepared to support Shahjahan's candidature and proceeded to join the latter near Ajmer.[147]

They participated in battles, administrative offices and politics. Bharmal, Bhagwan Das and Man Singh were three legendary figure of Kachawaha nobility. We see that Akbar had full trust on their loyalty. Other Mughal officers had doubt on their loyalty and they complained against Kachawaha chiefs to Akbar, but he did not lose his trust. They had received high *mansab* from Mughal emperor. They played a prominent role in Mughal services.

We notice that after matrimonial alliance, their promotions increased as compared to other Rajput chiefs. They became a powerful group of Mughal nobility. Abul Fazl and other contemporary sources tell us that matrimonial alliance played an important role in the court politics of the period. As we know that Kachawahas became prominent because of matrimonial alliance. Through this alliance with Akbar the Kachawahas became one of the most influential nobles of the Mughal court. Other chieftain of Rajasthan also adopted this policy and they gained a powerful position in the form of *mansab*, *Jagirs* and administrative offices.[148]

Jahangir also explained the reputation of this family at Mughal court-

"راجہ بھگوانداس و پدر کلانش راجہ بہارامل نام اشت اول کسی کہ از راجپوتان کچواھہ شرف بند گیی پدر من دریافت راجہ بہارامل بود و در راستی و درستی اخلاص و نیست شجاعت از قوم خود امتیاز تمام داشت بعد از جلوس چون جمیع امرا با جمعیتہای خود در درگاہ حاضر بوندند." [149]

[145] Mutamid Khan, *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangir*,op.cit, p.617, Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badshahnama*,Vol.I, Pt.I, ed. Kabir Al-Din Ahmad & Abd-Al Rahim,Calcutta,1867, p.282.
[146] Qazwini, *Badshahnama*, pt-a,op.cit., f.127b-128a.
[147] Inayat Zaidi,The political role of Kachhwaha Noble during Jahangir's reign (180-195), op.cit, p.188, Mutamid Khan, *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, p.617, Lahori, *Badshahnama*,Vol.I, pt.I, pp.282, *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol.I, p.276, Qazwini, *Badshanama*, pt.II, p.276,Shahnawaz Khan, *Ma'asur-ul-Umara*,Vol.III, p.568, Shyamaldas, *Vir Vinod*, Vol.III,p.1288.
[148] Afzal Husain, Marriage among Mughal Nobles as an index of status and Aristocratic integrations, *P.I.H.C.*, 1972, pp.304-305.
[149] Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*,op.cit., p.7.

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"His [Man Singh] father was Raja Bhagwan Das His grandfather Raja Bihari Mal, was the first of the Kachwaha Rajputs to have the honour of entering my father's service, and he excelled his tribe in truth and sincerity of friendship and in the quality of valour."[150]

Beginning of Jai Singh's career was so good. He participated in battles from very minor age. He gained experience of war at that time. Nur Jahan's *Nishans* inform us that he had important position among nobles at Mughla court. She wanted support after Jahangir's death. But he did not support her. He joined to Khurram.

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[150]Jahangir, *The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, op.cit., tr., p.16.

Appendix A

This table is showing the Kachhwahas's Position under Akbar

S N	Year	Name of *Mansabdar*	*Mansab* (Rank) *Zat*	*Sawar*	Appointment	Source
1	982 A.H./1574-1575 A.D.	Raja Bhar Mal	5,000	5,000		Badauni, Vol.II,p.151, *A.N.*, Vol.III, *V.V.* p.1277
2	989 A.H./1581-1582 A.D.	Raja Bhagwan Das			Governorship of Punjab	*A.N.* p.372
3	994 A.H./1585 1586 A.D.	Raja Bhagwan Das	5,000	5,000	Jointly the governorship of Lahore	*A.N.*, Vol.III, p.511
4	998 A.H./1580-90 A.D.	Raja Bhagwan Das	5,000	5,000 Died		*A.N.*, Vol.III, p.570, Ain, p.223, *T.A.*, Vol.II, p.430
5	994 A.H./1585-1586 A.D.	Raja Man Singh			Governorship of Kabul	*A.N.*, Vol.III, pp.592-511
6	1002 A.H./1593-1594 A.D.	Raja Man Singh	5,000	5,000	Governorship of Bihar	*A.N.*, Vol.III, p.576, *T.A.*, Vol.II, p.430
7	1004 A.H./1595-1596 A.D.	Raja Man Singh	5,000	5,000	Governorship of Bengal	*Ain*, p.223, *A.N.*, Vol.III, pp.650-834, *Z.Kh*, Vol.I, p.108
8	1014 A.H./1605-1606 A.D.	Raja Man Singh	7,000	6,000		*A.N.*, Vol.III, p.839
9	1013 A.H./1604-1605 A.D.	Bhao Singh	700	500		*A.N.*, Vol.III, p.837
10	1014 A.H./ 1605-1606 A.D.	Maha Singh	2000	300		*A.N.*, Vol.III, p.839

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Appendix B

Table shows the Kachhwahas's Position under Jahangir

S. No.	Year	Name of *Mansabdar*	Mansab *Zat*	Mansab *Sawar*	Appointments Titles	Sources
1	1014 A.H./1605-1606 A.D.	Raja Man Singh	7,000	7,000	Governorship of Bengal	*Tuzuk*, p.7
2	1023 A.H./1614-1615 A.D.	Raja Man Singh	7,000	7,000 Died		*Tuzuk*, p.130
3	1023 A.H./1614-1615 A.D.	Bhao Singh	4,000	3,000	Mirza Raja	Ibid
4	1024 A.H./1615-1616 A.D.	Maha Singh	3,500	2,000	Raja	Ibid, p.146
5	1026 A.H./1617 A.D.	Bhao Singh	5,000	3,000		*Tuzuk*, 184
6	1026 A.H./1617 A.D.	Maha Singh	4,000	3,000 Died		Ibid, p.186
7	1027 A.H./1617-1618 A.D.	Jagat Singh	1,000	500		*Tuzuk*, p.264, *Z.Kh*, Vol. I, p.230.
8	1030 A.H./1620-1621	Raja Bhao Singh	5,000	300		Ibid., p.337
9	1026 A.H./1617 A.D.	Jai Singh	1,000	500		Ibid., p.192
10	1032 A.H./1622-1623 A.D	Jai Singh	3,000	1,400		Ibid, p.359
11	1036 A.H./1626-1627	Jai Singh	4,000	3,000		*Farman*,dated 1 Khurdad,22 regnal year of Jahangir, *Tuzuk*, p.359

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CHAPTER- II:

Military Services under Shah Jahan (1627A.D – 1658 A.D)

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Chapter II

Raja Jai Singh's Military Services under Shahjahan

Raja Jai Singh was a chief commander of Shahjahan's army. He was appointed as a military commander under different governors at different *Subas*, he played an important role in the Mughal campaigns. He was young, bold and energetic commander, and his decisions were very useful to the campaigns. Shahjahan trusted his brave nature. His *mansab* increased and was also granted *Jagir*. He distinguished himself in Deccan, Northern-eastern campaigns. We have described military activities of Jai Singh in the fore going chapter, on the basis of *Persian* sources, regional sources and *Farmans*. These *Farmans* were issued by Shahjahan to Raja Jai Singh which are valuable documents, these records indicate the responsibility given by Shahjahan to Jai Singh and how he accomplished his duties. These *Farmans* are preserved in Rajasthan state archives, Bikaner.

As a Military commander in the Deccan (1628 A.D – 1637 A.D)

This chapter focuses on the military career of Jai Singh. He established his reputation at Mughal court by his excellent military activities. His military career commenced from modest services in Deccan. He was counted as important noble at Mughal court. At the onset his career was slow but as soon as he had strong position, he was entrusted two expedition of Parenda fort, Ausa, Udgir, Dulatabad. These were turning point of his military career. Kachawaha glory revived in Mughal nobility.

On 18th Sha'ban 1037 A.H. /13 April 1628 A.D., he was sent with Qasim Khan to suppress the rebellion of Mahaban. The task was accomplished within two months.[1]

Before the accession of Shahjahan, Raja Jai Singh was under the service of Khan-i-Jahan Lodi at Deccan. Khan-i-Jahan Lodi was one of the senior Afghan noble at Mughal court. He entered the Mughal service in the period of Jahangir.[2]Jahangir had given the charge of governorship of Deccan to him. When Shahjahan occupied

[1]Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badshahnama*,Vol.I, prt.I, ed. Kabiruddin Ahmad, Abdur Rahim, Calcutta,1867, p.196, Shahnawaz Khan, *Ma'assir-ul-Umara*, Vol.III, ed. Maulvi Mirza Ashraf Ali, Calcutta, 1891, p.569.
[2]Shahnawaz Khan,*Ma'assir-ul-Umara*, Vol.III, op.cit., p.568.

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the Mughal throne, he removed Khan-i-Jahan Lodi from the governorship of Deccan. He was then sent to Malwa.[3]

Khan-i-Jahan Lodi did not agree with Shahjahan's decision, hence he started the rebellion against him. After the rebellion of Khan-i-Jahan Lodi, Jai Singh was helpless because he had cordial relation with him, in 1037 A.H./1628 A.D. despite which he left him and joined Shahjahan. He was conferred robe of honour, bejewelled *Jamdhar*, 4,000 *zat* /3,000 *sawar*, a banner and kettledrum.[4]

Shahjahan had given the title of *Khan-i-Jahan* to Mahabat khan. Shahjahan was disrespectful towards Lodi. His rebellion became the pick, on 26th Safar, 1039 A.H. / 5th October 1629, Shahjahan had given an order to Khwaja Abul Hasan with Khan-i-Zaman and Raja Jai Singh and other officers to pursue this rebellion and kill them. They reached near Chamber River in pursuit of the rebel.[5]

The battle started between imperial army and Lodi's army. Both armies bore heavy lost of their soldiers. Khan-i-Jahan and his two sons successfully crossed Chamber River and fled away. And thereafter Jai Singh and Khan-i-Zaman were near them. They knew well that they could not cross the river without boats. They started collecting the boats and stayed one night at this place. When they arranged the boats they crossed the river with imperial army. Khan-i-Jahan took shelter in the forest of Jujhar Singh Bundela. At that time Shahjahan had given an order that Raja Bithaldas, Khwas Khan and Prithviraj who suffered wounds, should return back to the court.[6]

One can glean this information from *Farmans* (New no-20/Old no 31, dated 2nd Zil Hijja, 1039 A.H. / 3rd July, 1630 A.D.), which was issued by Shahjahan to Jai Singh. His role in Balaghat and emperor's instructions to him is stated thus-

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[3] Shaikh Farid Bakkari, *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol.III, ed. Moin-ul-Haq, Karachi, 1970, p.79, Mutamid Khan, *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, ed.Maulvi Abdul Hai and Ahmad Ali, Calcutta, 1865, p.198, Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab Al-Lubab*, Vol.I, ed. Maulvi Kabir Al-Din Ahmad, Calcutta, 1869, pp.400-401.

[4] Inayat Zaidi, The Political role of Kachhwaha Noble during Jahangir's reign, *P.I.H.C.*, A.M.U., Aligarh, 1975, p.188, Mutamid Khan, *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, p.617, Lahori, Vol.I, prt.I, p.120, Moh. Salih Kambo, *Amal-i-Salih*,Vol.I, ed. Ghulam Yazdani, Calcutta, 1923, p.276, Shahnawaz Khan, *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.III, p.568, Shyamaldas, *Vir Vinod*,Vol.II, Pt.II, Delhi, 1986, p1288.

[5] Mohammad Amin Bin Abdul Hussain Qazwini, *Badshahnama*, Part.b, Rotograph no.191, Rieu i/ 258b, B.MMS. No.or. 173, seminar library of C.A.S. Department of History, A.M.U., Aligarh, f.128b, Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.I, Pt.I, p.276.

[6] Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.I, pt.I, op.cit., pp.277-278, Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*,Vol.I, pp.418-419, Shahnawaz Khan, *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*,Vol.III, p.569, B.N. Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, Delhi, 2013, 67-68,69.

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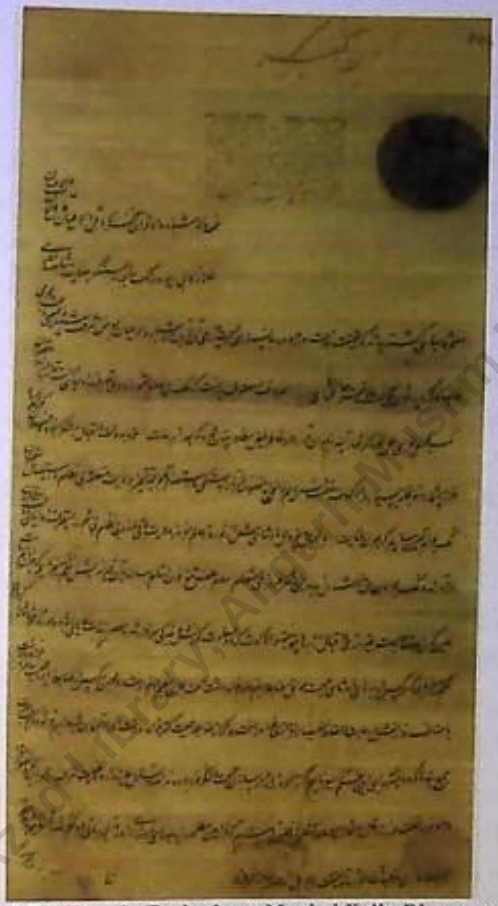
Appendix – A: *Farman* (dated 2nd Zil Hijja, 1039 A.H. / 3rd July, 1630 A.D.) issued by Shahjahan to Raja Jai Singh



Source: *Farsi Farmano ke Prakash me Mughal Kalin Bharat evam Rajput Shashak*, Vol.I, p.7

'I [Shahjahan] want that before ending of the rainy season I send a large army, elephants, money, and a large number of canons to Balaghat. And winning army haveonce again arranged and appointed against Nizamshahi Kingdom. I have given order to you [Raja Jai Singh] that travelling is so tough in this rainy season so you stay in your place, arrange your army to prepare himself with his subordinates for

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joining the royal army when they arrive at Burhanpur from Balaghat. Desiring him to act according to orders conveyed to him by Mukkarm Khan.'[7]

We gather information from this *Farman* that Jai Singh improved his military's strength time to time.

On 7th Rabi-ul-I 1040 A.H. / 4th October 1630 A.D., after the rainy session, Azam Khan had given an order to reopen the operation against Khan-i-Jahan Lodi.Imperial army marched from Devalgaon. Muzaffar Khan was the commander of vanguard, who was injured in this journey so he came back to the Mughal court. Azam Khan had entrusted the responsibility of vanguard to Jai Singh. At that time Khan-i-Jahan Lodi had taken shelter at Daulatabad.[8]

On 9th Rabi-ul-II, 1040 /5th November 1630 A.D., the imperial army was split into three divisions Raja Jai Singh was the commander of the advanced guard with Raja Biththaldas, Raja Anup Singh and his other Rajput troops, Ihtimam Khan was the commander of artillery, Sipahdar Khan was the commander of the right wing to breach the enemy's encampment. Imperial army started to pursue the rebels, they were occupied on the right side of hill, Raja Jai Singh and some of his Rajput troops took the command of other side of hill for battle.[9] Many Afghani supporters of Khan-i-Jahan Lodi became prisoners, and other Afghans resorted to flight.[10]

Shahjahan had given command to Muzaffar Khan and Abdullah Khan Bahadur against Khan-i-Jahan Lodi. Syed Muzaffar Khan was the commander of vanguard of imperial army. Madho Singh and other officers joined him. At that time fight started between Khan-i-Jahan Lodi and Madho Singh. Madho Singh killed himand cut of his head with strikes of the weapons. Khwaja Kamgar Hussain brought his head to the court and conveyed this news to Shahjahan.[11]After two or three years,

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[7] *Farasi Farmano ke Prakash mai MughalKalain Bharat evam Rajput Sashak*, Vol.I, ed. & tr Shujauddin Khan Naqshbandi, ed. Mahendra Khadgawat ,Vol.I, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner, 2010, pp.46-47, I have seen also*A Descriptive List of Farmans, Manshurs and Nishans* (addressed by the imperial Mughals to the Princes of Rajasthan), ed. N.R. Khadgawat, Bikaner, 1962, p.3,S.A.I Tirmiz has given wrong date of this *Farman* and *DLFMN* has given date 2nd Zil-Hijja, 1039 A.H./3rd July 1630 A.D but Tirmiz gives date 13 July 1630 A.D, S.A.I. Tirmiz, *Mughal Documents* (A.D. 1628-59) Vol.II, New Delhi, 1995, p.45, Appendix, A.

[8] Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.I, pt.I, op.cit., p.316.

[9] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit., p.44-45, Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.I, pt.I p.323-324.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.I, Pt-I, op.cit., pp. 338, 350-351, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, pp.55-57.

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struggle of Kahan-i-Jahan Lodi ended. His sons Aziz Khan, Aimal Afghan and others Afghan supporters were killed.[12]

Thus we see that Raja Jai Singh did not play impressive role in this rebellion. Sources also give limited information about his role. At that time he took the responsibility of advanced guard.

Fortunately we have information about Jai Singh military activities in Darur fort from *Farman* (New no.17/Old no28, dated 19Jamad-al Akhir 1039 A.H. / 24th January 1630 A.D.)

'His excellent service in the victory of Darur fort, Azam Khan discussed about his brave nature and try to the emperor. Shahjahan sent a special *Khillat* (robe of honour) for him through Khwaja Jahan.'[13]

Role of Raja Jai Singh in First Expedition of Parenda Fort

Parenda marks as an important expedition in Jai Singh's military career. He offered excellent service in this expedition. His Rajputs troopers were the backbone of his victories. He was appointed under military governor of Azam Khan.[14] The siege of Parenda fort took place in the campaign against Ahmadnagar.[15]

On 27 Sha'aban 1040 A.H. / 21st March 1631 A.D., Jai Singh was deputed to the siege of Parenda.At that time, imperial army continued the war of Ahmadnagar territory. Mughal general Azam Khan had planned to besiege the fort of Parenda,[16] but the enemies had entrenched themselves strongly in Petta town.[17] This town was situated on the way of Parenda fort, which was surrounded by mud walls which was five yard (*gaz*) high and three yard thick and elephants were kept prepared to prevent

[12] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit., p.56.
[13] *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I, op.cit., pp.40-41.
[14] Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol I, pt.I, op.cit., p.357, Qazwini, *Badshahnama*, part-b, f.214a, Salih Kambo, *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol.I, p. 424.
[15] Colonel Sir Wolseley Haig, *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, ed. Sir Richard Burn, Delhi, 1963, p.188, later on a large number of forts came into existence at strategic places all over the Deccan, for example, at Parenda, Daulatabad, Gawilgarh e.t.c., *The History of Medieval Deccan-Medieval period (1295-1724)*,Vol II, ed. H.K. Sherwani, Joint ed. P.M. Joshi, Andra Pradesh, 1974, p.231.
[16] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit., p. 132, Shahnawaz Khan, *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*., Vol.III, pp.569. (Parenda fort was near on Sina River on the route from Ahmadnagar to Sholapur. It is about sixty miles of Dharur).
[17] Pettah was a common name given to a walled place- a village or a city in the Deccan, but fact is, this word was used for a place between the outer and inner walls of the inner outer of the fort, R.K. Phul, *Armies of the great Mughals (1526-1707)*, New Delhi,1978, pp.294-295.

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the rush of imperial troops. Azam Khan was deputed Raja Jai Singh with few of the royalist soldiers to destroy the Petta town.[18]

He had advanced upon the town which laid opposite to the fort, he started a tremendous attack with his trained and dependable elephants and his brave kachawaha soldiers. His elephant was pulling down the strong mud walls of this town.He himself took the duty of preventing the enemy forces from coming to the relief the garrison.[19]He proved equal to the duty, and did not let a single indifference to reach near the besieging forces. In spite of that hegot many brave deeds done and his gallant followers, the siege of Parenda fort had to be raised.

After Petta expedition Mughal general divided imperial army into three divisions within a short distance. Imperial army surrounded the fort, Azam Khan had carried command of the ditch. Azam Khan had taken the position in the opposite gateway. They attacked with heavy guns on the enemies. Azam Khan entered the fort and he raised the battery (*damdama*) on the edge of the ditch.[20]

Enemies were afraid of imperial army's victory. *Qiledar* of the fort sent message to Muqarrab Khan and Bahlol that 'if they warning that this fort should also not fall like that of Dharur'.[21] Muqarrab Khan was the commander of Nizam Shahi's army he appealed to Randuala for help. He represented the depressed condition of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. This was the miserable condition of the Mughal general and he decided that laid siege to Parenda fort. [22]

Azam Khan continued in the company of Raja Jai Singh, Jujhar Singh and other brave soldiers in that direction.[23]At the time of the siege of Parenda fort, imperial army wanted sufficient grain for army. He was reluctantly compelled to raise the siege and march towards Dharur.[24] Two enemies of Mughal empire were united, they became very strong than imperial army. Yaqoot Khan was a son of Khan Azam, he was the commander of the rear guard. They had displayed almost gallantly and

[18] Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.I, Pt.I, op.cit., p.357, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, p.59, Salih Kambo, *Amal-i-Salih*,Vol I, p.424, Qazwini, *Badshahnama*, pt. b, f.214a.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.I, Pt.I, op.cit p.359.
[21] Ibid, p.360.
[22] Qazwini, *Badshahnama*, Pt.b,op.cit., f.214, *The The History of Medieval Deccan- Medieval period (1295-1724)*, p.272, (Randula was the commander of Bijapur's army).
[23] Ibid.
[24] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit., p.61.

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dispatched many of them to the desert of perdition through the efforts of his cavalry, artillery guns, rockets and matchlocks. But enemies had occupied the road of Bansi.[25]

Imperial army received the news that enemies army had come out of Ghat Paansi which was at a distance of four kilometers from Parenda fort and locked the way of imperial army. Azam Khan was sent with Raja Jai Singh, Raja Pahar Singh and other Rajputs, they had responsibility of the vanguard to confront them. Multafat Khan had command of rear guard with two thousand horses.[26] When the entire army came out of the Ghat and Yaqoot Khan, Khailoji Maloji were appointed in rear guard. Enemies had possibly become locked in front of the vanguard. As soon as Azam Khan had reached there and his army alighted on the back of the river Wanjrah and next day reached at the town of Balni.[27]

This was the miserable condition of the Mughal army. The report of treaty between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur was received. Azam Khan laid siege to the fort of Parenda.[28] Mughal army had lost six hundred camels, two hundred horses, large number of cattle in this expedition. But despite of all efforts the expedition failed. It was probably because during 1630 A.D., Deccan was smattering with a very great famine and the imperialist's army had to return.[29]

When Raja Jai Singh arrived at the court, Shahjahan gave honour to him. He issued the *Farman* (New no.22/Old no.33, dated 27 Sha ban, 1040 A.H/ 21st March 1631 A.D.) to Raja Jai Singh that

'I [Shahjahan] appreciated you and your soldiers of *Harawal*'s services in Parenda and Baits [Pettah]. I have received this news from the *Arzi* of Azam Khan. I know about your brave and energetic so you appointed the military commander of this army.'[30]

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[25] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit., p.61.
[26] Ibid.,Lahori, *Badshahnama* Vol.I, Pt-I, p.362.
[27] Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.I, pt.I,op.cit., p.362.
[28] *The The History of Medieval Deccan- Medieval period (1295-1724)*, Vol.I, op.cit., pp.272-273.
[29] Qazwini, *Badshahnama* Pt-b, f.215 a, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, p.60.
[30] *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I, op.cit., p.50, *DLFMN*, p.4. Appendix-B.

Appendix – B: *Farman* (dated 27 Sha ban, 1040 A.H/ 21st March 1631 A.D.) issued by Shahjahan to Raja Jai Singh

Source: *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I, p.51

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Second Expedition of Parenda Fort

After two-three years, on 26 Rabi-II 1034 A.H. / 20th October 1634 A.D. Shahjahan once again made preparations for the siege of Parenda fort. At this time, this fort was under the control of Nizam-ul-Mulk, Aqa Rizwan had taken the responsibility of administration and Randulah and Murari Pandit were appointed to guard on the bank of Nala Absin and stay for safety of Parenda.[31]

Raja Jai Singh was appointed under the leadership of Prince Shah Shuja, he received the honour and gifts from Shahjahan. Shah Shuja was conferred a *mansab* of 10,000*Zat* and 5,000*Sawar*.He appointed one thousand mounted musketeers, infantry army and five lakhs of treasure was dispatched with the force.[32]

Imperial army was divided into different sides, Raja Jai Singh was always an important part of imperial army. He was appointed with other Rajputs to the vanguard, Khan-i-Zaman had taken the responsibility of central side and Rashid Khan and Asalat Khan were selected for right wing, Mubariz Khan was appointed to the left wing. They reached near Parenda with asmuch speed as possible on the back of the stream, which ran one-kilo meter (*kuroh*) from the fort. Khan-i-Zaman established three or four *thanas* at Zafarnagar. Khan-i-Zaman had been permitted to be in the service of the prince Shuja.[33]

On 8th Ramazan 1034 A.H. / 26 February 1634 A.D., Shah Shuja moved from Kanpapur to Parenda and alighted near the army of Khan-i-Zaman. Khan-i Khanan on hearing the news of enemy's attacks, had quickly taken the steps and he divided imperial army in different directions for suppression of rebellion. He himself formed the right wing for the supplies to the left of which were placed Khan-i-Zaman, Rao Satrsal, Rasheed Khan and others. In this way, on two or three subsequent occasions when they assailed the forces of Sayyid Khan-i-Jahan and Maloji, Khan Khanan charged them in person, which sufficed to ensure their defeat. At that time Raja Jai Singh was appointed the rear guard, Sayyid Shujaat Khan, Raja Bitthaldas, Mubarak Khan were placed in between Khan-i-Zaman and Raja Jai Singh and Maloji with

[31] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahanmama*, op.cit., p.117, Qazwini, *Badshahnama*, P-c, f.319a, Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab Al-Lubab*, Vol.I, ed. Maulvi Kabir Al-Din Ahmad, Calcutta, 1869, p.495, Shyamaldas,*Vir Vinod*, Vol.II, pt.II, p.1277.

[32] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahanmama*, op.cit.,pp.117-118, Shahnawaz Khan, *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.III, p.570, Salih Kambo, *Amal-i-Salih*,Vol.I, pp.615-616, Qazwini,*Badshahnama*, pt-c,ff.319a,b-320a, Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab Al-Lubab* Vol.I, p.495, Shyamaldas, *Vir Vinod*, Vol.II, pt.II p.1277.

[33] Qazwini, *Badshahnama*, pt-c, op.cit., f-320b, Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.I, p- b, p.37.

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Sharzah Khan, Saleh Beg Jalair and others in between himselfRaja Jai Singh. Raja Jai Singhkept up running fight with enemy the whole way and reached the royal camp safely towards ends of the day.[34]

Khan-i-Jahan suggested Prince Shuja that Khan-i-Zaman, Raja Jai Singh and some other imperial nobles to mount two and three hours of the night, when imperial army reached the mountain in the night, they had elapsed but enemies had already been informed about this plan so that this plan could not be carried out.[35] Imperial army had lost a large number of rockets. Inayat Khan had given the information about the imperial armies that "fifteen bullock drives with their bullocks fell into their hands, two third of which were laden with the enemy's supplies, along with the camels and oxen belonging to the royal army."[36] Raja Jai Singh was the guard of vanguard he arrested a number of prisoners of their foot.[37]

On 12th Shawwal 1044 A.H. 1st April, 1634 A.D., imperial army proceeded to the Parenda fort, Raja Jai Singh was given the charge of centre side of the battle with Khan-i-Khanan and other warriors. Khan-i-Zaman formed the right wing with Mubariz Khan and Rao Satrsal. Prince Shuja followed the left wing with Murtaza Khan.[38]When imperial army reached near the enemies and they were coming from the opposite side, left wing started rockets on imperial forces. When imperial army reached on side of the right wing and commenced firing rockets. Then Khan-i-Zaman decided that first they should attack upon the enemies army in front of him. Khan-i-Jahan hurried his horse upon the army which came near him.[39]

On 13th Shawwal 1044 A.H/ 2nd April 1634 A.D., Raja Jai Singh, Raja Bitthaldas hastened to his support, he drove them quickly away. Khan-i-Dauran and he followed after the Rajas, but the enemies overtook Khan-i-Zaman, Khan-i-Dauran and others. Therefore, the result of this campaign was not successful.[40]

Mughal army had to face the defeat by the hand of enemies, all the efforts of Mughal army was wasted. There were many reasons behind this defeat that-

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[34] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit., p.132, Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.I, P-b, pp.40-42.
[35] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit., pp.133-134.
[36]Ibid.
[37] Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.I, P-b, op.cit., p.44, Qazwini, *Badshahnama*, Pt-c, f.324-b, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama* , pp.133-134.
[38] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, p.134, Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.I, pt.II, pp.45.
[39]Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, p.135,Lahori, *Shahjahannama*, Vol.I, pt.II, pp.45.
[40] Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.I, pt.II, p.46.

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(a) There was lack of proper organization of supplies for the army in the battle field.[41]

(b) One of the prime reasons was the mutual differences between Khan –i- Jahan and Khan-i-Dauran. Their relations were not cordial.[42]

(c) All the nobles were unhappy with Khan-i-Khanan because he ill-treated them.[43]

(d) Another reason was hot weather and lack of availability of grass and fire wood around the royal camp.

As the rains were due Khan-i-Jahan advised Shah Shuja, to raise the siege and retire to Burhanpur.[44]After being resistant by Raja Jai Singh and Murtaza Khan from left wing and Asalat Khan and Khalil Allah Khan from the left, these troops were combined and were able to drive the enemy back beyond the place. They began to retreat to Burhanpur in 1634.[45]

Raja Jai Singh played an important role in the campaign of Parenda fort but unfortunately this campaign did not succeed. He had the charges of different sides. He kept the road clear for marching forces because he was trooping away the harassing guerrilla's warfare technique. Only he could check their methods and movements.[46]

The contemporary sources in the period of Shahjahan give such testimony about the Raja Jai Singh's role in this campaign.

Account of the capture of Udgir, Ausah and Nagpur forts of Raja Jai Singh

Raja Jai Singh at Dauladatabad

On 5th Jamad-ul-II, 1044 A.H./16th November, 1634 A.D., Shahjahan divided Deccan state into two parts one was called Balaghat and the other was called Payan Ghat. The *Sarkars* of Daulatabad, Ahmadnagar, Patan, Bair, Jalnapur, Junnair, Sangamner, Fatehabad were the parts of Balaghat, its *Jama* was 1, 20, 00,000*dams* (Price).[47] Khan-i-Zaman was posted with Raja Jai Singh at Daulatabad. Entire Khandesh and area of Berar were under the *subedari* (governorship) of Payan Ghat, its *jama* was 92, 00, 00, 00, 00*dams*. The command of this *suba* was in the hands of

[41] *The Cambridge history of India*,op.cit., p.194.
[42] Ibid. Inayat Khan,*Shahjahannama*,op.cit., p.135.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Inayat Khan,*Shahjahannama*, p.136.
[46] M.L. Shrma,*History of Jaipur State*,Jaipur, 1969, p.99.
[47] Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.I, Pt.II,op.cit., pp.62-63.

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Khan-i-Dauran and his officers were Raja Bahar Singh Bundela, Madho Singh Hada and Nazar Bahadur.[48]

After the death of Khan Khanan (Mahabat Khan), Shahji and Nizam-ul-Mulk were active at Daulatabad, Shahji was the Maratha chief. They were planned that the regions of Daulatabad, that were under the Mughal Empire, to be taken from Mughal.[49]

On 3rd Sha'ban, 1046 A.H. /12th January, 1635 A.D., Khan-i-Dauran was the new Mughal general of Deccan. He started a campaign with Raja Jai Singh, Mubariz Khan, Jagraj and other officers against Shahji and Nizam-ul-Mulk. When they reached Khirki, hearing the news that enemies went in the direction of Sivgaon. So imperial army entered Sivgaon. Khan-i-Dauran stayed in center, Raja Jai Singh was in vanguard and left and right wings were given to others. Enemies run away in this place. They reached the pass of Manakdaund towards Junnar, hastened and conveyed themselves to baggage and camp equipage. Khan-i-Dauran knew well about Deccanis's rule of battle that they never fought all along day and they could rest at this place. This was an opportunity of imperial army, Mughal military men to attack upon them and they captured 8,000 oxen with provisions, arrested 3,000 enemies and a few with which weapons, rockets. Other enemies were escaped of this place.[50]

On 19th Shawwal, 1044 A.H./28th March, 1635, Raja Jai Singh's *mansab* was increased with one thousand *Zat*, now his *mansab* was 5,000 *Zat* and 4,000 *Sawar*.[51] Shahjahan wanted that Jai Singh had taken leave for some time, he issued a *Farman* (New no.30/Old no.41, dated 24 Muharram, 1045 A.H. /30 June, 1635 A.D.) for this purpose-

'We would like that nothing works here [Deccan] in this rainy season, because of that Adil Khan had yielded and has sent his *wakil* for negotiation at Mughals court.

[48] Ibid, p.63, Shyamaldas,*Vir Vinod*, Vol.I, Pt.I, p.336, Shyamaldas had given information about the income of this states differently he wrote that Income of Balaghat was 30,50,00,00 Rs and income of Payan Ghat was 23,25.00,00.
[49] Ibid. p.64.
[50] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahanmama*, op.cit., p.144, Lahori, *Badshahnama* Vol.I, pt.II, pp.68-69.
[51] Lahori.*Badshahnama*, Vol.I, pt.II, *Badshahnama*, op.cit.,p.85.

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Desiring you have gone to Amer. However, after the rainy season he must report to the imperial court on the day of Dashera along with his forces.'[52]

Appendix –C: *Farman* (dated 24 Muharram 1045 A.H/ 30 June 1635 A.D.) issued by Shahjahan to Raja Jai Singh

Source: *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I, p.67

Shahji and Nizam-ul-Mulk were two dangerous enemies in Deccan state of Mughals. Shahji had taken power of many forts and places under his control. So it was necessary to reduce their powers from these territories to establish authority of Mughal emperor.[53] In Sha'ban, 1045 A.H. / January, 1636 A.D., Shahjahan organized

[52] *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I, pp.66-67, *DLFMN*, p.5, some lines of this *Farman* had written by Shahjahan Appendix-C.

[53] Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.I, pt-II, op.cit., p.68, Shahji Bosle was the Maratha general of Nizamshahi kingdom, Inayat Khan, p.167-168.

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a strong army against Shahji, Nizam-ul-Mulk in order to realize Adil Khan to intellect of his duties. In addition, Shahjahan divided his army into three divisions-[54]

(A) One division of 12,000 troops under Khan-i-Dauran and Raja Jai Singh were dispatched of Qandhar and Nandar to carefully join the frontiers of Bijapur and Golconda and they received an order that to be ready to march to the relief of threatened points and to reduce Ausa and Udgir.[55]

(B) The second division army was led by Khan-i-Zaman, he had to take action against Ahmad Nagar and to crush Shahji Bosle. He was directed to march towards Bijapur and assault Adil Shahi kingdom.[56]

(C) Shaista Khan was the commander of third division, he had reduced to the forts of Chandar, Sangamner and Nasik.[57]

We see that Shahjahan had given to Jai Singh the responsibility of fort of Qandahar and to reduce the forts of Udgir and Ausa to Khan-i-Dauran and his comrades, Raja Jai Singh was the right hand of Khan-i-Dauran, and he had excellent contribution in the conquest of Udgir and Ausa forts.[58]

Khan-i-Dauran had received an order that he would get the possession of leading elephant corpse to conquer the fort of Ausa and Udgir. He had started his campaigning then he received an order that Adil Khan accepted the Mughal authority. So he could not be carry his march.[59] When Khan-i-Dauran, Raja Jai Singh were busy in another tasks. Then a large army of Golconda and Bijapuris under the command of Bahlol and Khairiyat Khan Bijapuri had been sent against Mughal army, they were encamped there and sent 2,000 forces to the environs of the victorious army.[60]

Raja Jai Singh was the commander of the vanguard of imperial army, he showed his experience of battles. He went from one place to another place on battlefield, he bravely dealt with enemy's soldiers, and he helped other wings of

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[54] Inayat Khan,*Shahjahannama*, op.cit., p.168.

[55] B P Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, op.cit., p.136, Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.I, pt.II, pp.136-137, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, p.168, *History of the Deccan- Medieval period(1295-1724)*, Vol.I, p.275.Udgir and Ausah were two celebrated strongholds in the Deccan. These two forts besiege by Raja Jai Singh.

[56] Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.I, pt-II,op.cit.,p.136.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Lahori, *Badshahnama* , Vol.I, p-II, op.cit., p.153, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama* , p.175, J.N.Sarkar, *A History of Jaipur*, p.103.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, p.176, Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.I,p-II,p.153, Bahlol, who was the uncle of Randola and Khairiyat Khan, who was the grandson of Yaqut Khan Habshi.

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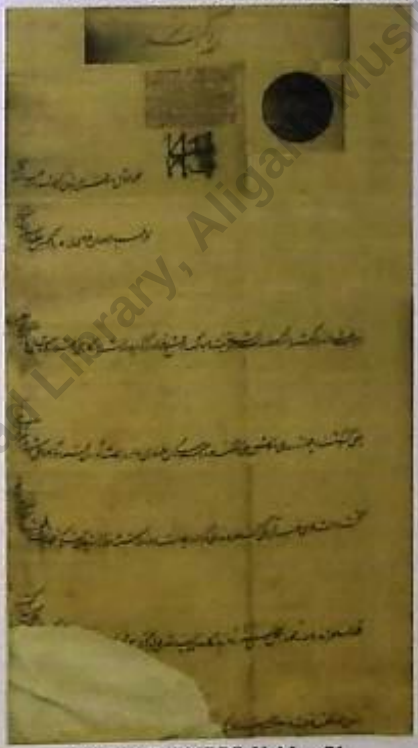
imperial army. He became a danger attacker to enemies. He was a master of warfare, learning the new strategies. His knowledge of battles was very useful in the circumstances.[61]

Shahjahan issued a *Farman* (New no.32/old no.44, dated 28th Jamad-al-Awwal, 1045 A.H./12th October, 1636) after the victory of Udgir fort-

Shahjahan says that Khan-i-Dauran was appreciated the service of Jai Singh on the conquest of Udgir. Emperor was happy with Jai Singh and his military men's services. Desired him to attend the imperial court with Khan-i-Dauran after the conquest of Ausa and received the royal symbols and honour.[62]

Appendix –D: *Farman* (dated 28th Jamad-al-Awwal, 1045 A.H/ 12th October, 1636 A.D.) issued by Shahjahan to Raja Jai Singh



Source: *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I, p.71

[61] Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.I, p-II, p.153, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, p.176.
[62] *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I, op cit., pp.70-71, *DLFMN*, p.5, Appendix-D.

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Khan-i- Dauran marched with Jai Singh and other officers and his army marched from there and proceeded to the banks of Bhima, from there towards Bijapur. Enemy had adopted ominous attitude and they should recover their lost territories.[63] Khan-i- Dauran wanted that the royal camp should be established ground and forming troops and assailing the rebels. But some young officers of Khan-i-Dauran's army were seeking action. On seeing this Khan-i-Dauran did not deem it expedient to wait, he left Mubariz Khan behind the charge of the royal camp, and hastened off himself after Raja.[64]

Raja Jai Singh's expedition of Nagpur Fort (1046 A.H./1636 A.D.) under the governorship of Khan-i-Dauran-

After the expedition of Udgir fort, Raja Jai Singh started a new journey of campaigns. Khan-i-Dauran established the royal power on other forts of Deccan. Nagpur was one of a strongest fort, whereupon under the control of Kukia. His power and influence depended on this fort. Khan-i-Dauran sent Gank Singh to Kukia,[65] with the proposal that if he wanted to save his territories and himself from the depredations of the imperial forces. But Kukia did not accept his proposal. So it was decided that he reduce its fort.[66]

Khan-i-Dauran established the camp and required material for the battle. And he gave an order to Pehlwan Daswesh entitled Rumi Khan, [67] who was thoroughly versed in the art of attacking fortress, he designed the bridge, which was twenty yards wide and ten deep. Khan-i-Dauran had the plan that royalist army should crossed this bridge and hem in the fortress as close as possible.[68]

Imperial army captured other forts of Kukia, crossed Pahalwan Lashkar Surkh and surrounded the fort. Other *Zamindars* of this area surrendered to imperial army such as *Zamindar* of Chanda, Sangram, Akanor. They presented suitable *Peshkash* to imperial governor.[69] Kukia was ready and he submitted himself to imperial force. However, *Vakeel* of Kukia did not agree to this condition. He started the campaign against imperial army. The mines at entrenchment of Pahalwan Darwesh were put to

[63] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit., p.176.
[64] Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.I, p-II, op.cit., pp.153-154, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, p.176.
[65] Kukia was the *Zamindar* of these territories.
[66] Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.I, p-II,op.cit., p.233, Inayat Khan,*Shahjahannama*, p.200.
[67] Ibid, Rumi Khan was the great engineer of that time.
[68] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama* , op.cit , p.200, Lahori, *Badshahnama* , Vol.I, p-II, p.232.
[69] Lahori, *Badshahnama* ,Vol.I,p-II, op.cit., p.232.

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the fire on imperial mines.[70] The mine from Rumi Khan was put to fire with about fifty of the rebels who were standing below the fire.[71]

Then enemies fired on mine of Raja Jai Singh, which he had run to the foot of the larger stone tower, but they did not have sufficient gun powder, it did not blow up and it got ruined. When mine under the supervision of Sipahdar Khan was exploded, and some wall with the garrison got exploded and a wide opening got created. [72]

Raja Jai Singh was a seeking commander of this army. Raja Jai Singh, Sipahdar Khan were all ready to start war on success, they boldly entered into the fort, put the garrison and arrested the *Qiledar* (Dev Ji) of fort and taken alive. On 29th Sh'ban 1046 A.H. / 16th January, 1636 A.D, they came fifteen kilo meter from Dev Garh and presented Devji. Devji had presented 1, 50,000 rupees in cash, 170 elephants as *peshkash*. He also agreed to be obedient and submissive and sent four lakhs of rupees to imperial treasury each year.[73]After this event Kukia understood that he could not fight against Mughal army he had taken the decision, he surrenderedto Khan-i-Dauran. Kukia came from Devgarh and presenting a tributary offering for Shahjahan, consisting of one lakhs and fifty thousand rupees in cash and elephants and sent four lakhs of rupees to the Imperial treasury each year, and Khan-i-Dauran resorted Nagpur to him and reached Kalibhit with the army.[74]

On 18th Rajab, 1046 A.H., / 6rd December, 1636 A.D., Shahjahan alighted at town Mughrabad, which were the *tiyul* of Raja Jai Singh and presented in the form of some horses, one elephant and twenty thousand rupees in cash. He accepted the horses and elephant and conferred cash upon the Raja Jai Singh.[75]

Shahjahan issued the *Farman* (14th Ramazan, 1046 A.H/30th January, 1637 A.D.) to Raja Jai Singh for the purpose of his appreciating service in the conquest of Nagpur fort-

Shahjahan wrote that according to Khan-i-Dauran's *Arzdasht*, you had performed remarkable services in the conquest of Nagpur fort. You had sufficient

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[70] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit., p.201, Lahori, *Badshahnama* Vol.I, p-II, p.233.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.I, p-II, op.cit., pp.232-233, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, p.201, Salih Kambo, *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol.II, pp.218-219.
[73] Lahori,*Badshahnama* Vol.I, p-II, op.cit., p.233.
[74] Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.I, p-II, op.cit., p.233, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, p.202.
[75] Ibid, p.234.

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Rajput military commanders also who played a good service in this war. So your services are appreciated. When you should present at royal court, you will receive different types of honour.[76]

Appendix –E: *Farman* (dated 14th Ramazan, 1046 A.H/ 30 January, 1637 A.D.) issued by Shahjahan to Raja Jai Singh

Source: *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I, p.73

On 25th Shawwal1046 A.H.\ 12th March, 1637 A.D., Khan-i-Dauran came to the court and presented one thousand *Ashrafis* (Gold Mohurs).He says to these *Ashrafis* presented by Raja Jai Singh to emperor and also saluted the threshold of royalty in the assaulted the fort of Nagpur.[77] Therefore, Raja Jai Singh too got the special honour, he was promoted to the rank of 5,000 *Zat* and 5,000 *Sawar* and was conferred with sword (*Phool Katarah*) and the *Pargana* of Chatsu which had hitherto

[76] *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I,op.cit., pp.72-73, *DLFMN*, p.5, Appendix-E.
[77] Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.I, p-II, op.cit., p.246, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, p.204.

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been in *khalsa*, a reliance of *Suba* Ajmer and was included in the *Khalsah Sharifah* and a horse of *Qibchaq* from the royal stable with Mutalla saddle.[78]

On 14th Zilhijj, 1047 A.H. / 25th April, 1638 A.D., Raja Jai Singh came to the court from Deccan. He played remarkable services in this campaign. He received robe of honour, an elephant from royal stable and was permitted to leave some for days at Amber.[79]

On 15th Zilhhaj, 1048 A.H. /9th April, 1639 A.D., Shahjahan held a grand review of 5,000 troops at Naushera, in which he witnessed the dignified and valorous appearance of Raja Jai Singh and then passing between the ranks on an elephant. Shahjahan conferred the title of *Mirza Rajah* to him, which his great grandfather Man Singh enjoyed in the reign of Akbar.[80]

Raja Jai Singh sent with Prince Murad to reduce the fort of Mau

Mau was a hill fort, which was surrounded by thick forest. This was situated half kilometre from Pathankot to Nurpur. Jagat Singh was *Zamindar* of this fort. He was the son of Raja Basu. He had been raised to the *mansab*of 3,000 *Zat*, 2,000 *Sawar* under Jahangir. After the accession of Shahjahahn, he continued his rank and he was appointed *Thanedar* of lower Bangash, His elder son was Rajrup, who was in Noorpur. He was appointed as a *Faujdaar* of the Daman-i-Koh Kangra.[81]

He became a rebel against Mughal and he was surreptitiously preparing a plan for rebellion. He did not follow the imperial order. He collected the instruments of war in the fort of Taragarh. Emperor became aware for his activities, he sent Sundar Kabi Rai for inquiring about him.[82]

Shahjahan arranged three armies under the command of three governors to reduce his rebellion. One was under Sayyid Khan-i-Jahan and others, second was under Saeed Khan Bahadur zafar Jung, Raja Rai Singh other officers and a musketeer.

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[78] Ibid, p.248.

[79] Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.I, p-II, op.cit., p.256.

[80] Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.I, p-II, op.cit.,Vol.II, op.cit., p.145, Inayat khan, *Shahjahanwama*, p.256, Shyamaldas, *Vir Vinod*, p.1289, J.P. Strattion, *The Jaipur-Amber Family And State*, Jaypur, 1885, p.38. Jos Gommans has explained the title of *mirza* that, "mirza should prefer elephants, since wih a horse or palanquin he would certainly become filthy. But despite this gentle, but fairly unheroic model, it was still very well possible that such mirzas would take high office in the Mughal army." Jos Gommans, *Mughal warfare Indian*, London and New York, 2002, pp.52-53.

[81] Lahori, *Bashahnama*,Vol.II, op.cit., p.237, J. Hutchison, J. P.H. Vogel, *History of the Punjab Hill State*, Vol.I, New Delhi, 1994, p.235.

[82] Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.II, op.cit., p.238.

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archers, and third was under the command of Asalat Khan with his brother and others. The command of all three forces was in the hands of Murad Bakhsh. He received the order that Raja Jai Singh, Rao Amar Singh, Qayam Khani, Daulat Khan should depart to Paithan.[83]

On 2nd Jamad-ul-II, 1051 A.H. /29th August, 1641 A.D., Shahjahan sent Prince Murad with Mughal army to reduce the rebellion of Jagat Singh. Murad had decided that he divided his army into different direction of this fort, he dispatched Raja Jai Singh, Said Khan Bahadur and Asalat Khan towards Mau fort with the aim to defeat its strongest fort. Sayyid Khan-i-Jahan had reached the pass of Balethwan in the direction of Noorpur. He himself stayed at Paithan.[84] He established quarters and other necessities.[85]

We have got some information of Mau fort expedition from *Farman* (Old no.46/new No.47, dated I Rajab, 1051 A.H. /26th September, 1641 A.D.) which was issued by Shahjahan to Jai Singh. Emperor gave instructions for Mau fort to Jai Singh-

'We have appointed you [Raja Jai Singh] as a military commander of an army. We have sent a *Farman* through Bakhshi-ul-Mulk Asalat Khan for you [Raja Jai Singh] that he would meet you and your army. And on Thursday, 4th Rajab, you should depart from Murad Bakhsh, on this way which Raja Vikramajeet came to occupied Mau and Noorpur. You, Saeed Khan and Bahadur would march on this way against Mau. And they would take some news about Sayyid Khan-i-Jahan and to search him. Because of we have also given same order to him. As these forces would reach from both sides and to conquer fort and under control them. Abdullah Khan Bahadur, Qulij Khan and Rustam Khan have reached there.'[86]

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[83] Ibid, pp.239-240.
[84] Lahori, *Badshahnamma*, Vol.II, op.cit.,p.261, Salih Kambo, *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol.II, p.262, Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al- Lubab*, Vol.I, p.585, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, p.283, Shyamaldas, *Vir Vinod*, Vol.II, Pt-II, p.1290.
[85] Lahori, *Badshahnamma*, Vol.II, op.cit.,p.261, Salih Kambo, *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol.II, p.262, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, p.283.
[86] *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I., op.cit., pp.100-101, *DLFMN*, p.7, Appendix-F.

Appendix –F: *Farman* (dated 1 Rajab, 1051 A.H/ 26th September, 1641 A.D.) issued by Shahjahan to Raja Jai Singh

Source: *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I, p.101

Raja Jai Singh and Asalat Khan had proceeded to different side of Chakki River, both met near the garden of Raja Basu, which was situated between Chakki River and Darrah.[87]

The fort surrounding the thick forest was so dense, that a bird could hardly expand his wings with it, and way was all blocked with wood and stones, on which stronghold and walls had been erected by musketeers and bowmen. The defector Jagat Singh blocked it up.[88]

The imperialists commanders [Raja Jai Singh and Asalat Khan] were sent to different directions to better down the barriers and besieged defended with arrows, muskets and other implements of war and they believed in their project, influence themselves with throwing up entrenchments, they dealt blows upon the followings

[87] Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.II., op.cit., p.263, Salih Kambo, *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol.II, p.267, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, p.284, Raja Basu planted a garden of mango trees four miles south of Noorpur near the fort of Mau, *History of Punjab Hill State*, p.228.

[88] Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.II., op.cit, p.264, Salih Kambo, *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol.II, pp.272-273, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, p.284.

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went into thickets to collecting firewood and fodder.[89] Raja Jai Singh displayed bravery fought this fight, his young blood was excited to battle against enemy.[90]

Jai Singh's strategy of Mau fort can be gauged from *Farman* (old no.65/new no.49/ dated, 24th Sha'ban, 1051 A.H./18th November, 1641A.D.)-

'You [Raja Jai Singh] wanted to reach Mau fort onthe way of Kanak Tehal. I[Shahjahan] accepted your suggestion. I also had given the orders to Bahadur Khan, Khan-i-Jahan would reach Mau on the same way. You, Qulij Khan, Khalil Khan came by the passage of Haridari and as you began to recover. He would desire him to destroy the enemy by all means.'[91]

Appendix –G: *Farman* (dated 24th Sha'ban, 1051 A.H/ 8th November, 1641 A.D.) issued by Shahjahan to Raja Jai Singh

***Source: FFPMBRS*, Vol.I, p.105**

[89] Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.II, pp.264-265, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, p.284, B.P.Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, p.89.
[90] B.P Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, op.cit., p.89.
[91] *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I, op.cit., pp.104-105, *D.L.F.M.N.*, p.7, Appendix-G.

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In the month of Sha'ban, 1051 A.H. / 24th November, 1641 A.D., Asalat Khan had received the order from imperial court that he should take the charge of Nurpur fort. At time Sayyid Khan-i-Jahan also received the order that they should advance from their side and capture the Mau fort.[92] Sayyid Khan-i-Jahan and Bahadur Khan along with commanders displayed their heroism by conspicuous actions.[93]

On 20th Ramazan, 1051 A.H. / 23rd December, 1641 A.D., Raja Jai Singh reached on the way of Mau with imperial commanders. He had followed the auspicious instructions of Murad Bakhsh. Raja Jai Singh, Qulij Khan and Allahvirdi Khan established their command in different sides of this fort. They came near to the fort with army. Raja Jai Singh and Allahvirdi Khan via the route of the defile and Qulij Khan from left and others from the right successfully entered in fort without waiting other commander's help.[94] And Jagat Singh was watching his defeat from the hands of Mughal commanders, he took his sons and dependants had escaped.[95]

Shahjahan issued the *Farman* (old no.66/new no.50, dated 23rd Ramzan, 1051 A.H. /16th December, 1641 A.D.) to Raja Jai Singh appreciated his services in Mau fortand he discussed future strategy against Jagat Singh.

Murad Bakhsh sent a letter to Shahjahan on victory of Mau fort, he discussed your [Raja Jai Singh] incredible services in the conquest of Mau. Enemy ran away to forest and hills. So he had given the order that he would stay in Mau fort with one remarkable force and some commanders were appointed in the side of forest, Rustam Khan-i-Jahan, Bahadur Khan and Rustam Khan were appointed in this side and 2,000 infantrymen which contains 1,000 gunmen and 1,000 Afghan men in this army. 3,000 *sawar* men were in the style of Bark. And on side of Jai Singh, Illahvardi Khan, 1,000 infantrymen which contained half of gunmen and half of Afghans in this army. These armies would be sent against enemies to forest and hills, before enemy would collect his army men. This imperial army would attack Jagat Singh and prison him. The autograph of Shahjahan is in the left upper side of this *Farman*.[96]

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[92] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit., p.287, Lahori, *Badshahnama*,Vol.II, p.268.
[93] Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.II,op.cit., p.271, Salih Kambo, *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol.II, p.271, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, p.287.
[94] Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.II,op.cit., p.271, pp.271-272, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, p.288.
[95] Ibid.
[96] *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I, op.cit., p.106-107, *D.L.F.M.N*, p.8, S.A.I. Tirmizi, p.69, Jaipur State old Historical Record office, *Arzakasht* (*Rajasthani*), Bundle-No. I, *Arzakasht* No.36.

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After this victory Shahjahan increased his *mansab*, the first time he had received highest *mansab* of 6,000 *Zat* and 6,000 *Sawar*.[97] On16th Sha'ban, 1051 A.H. /7th October, 1644 A.D., Raja Jai Singh received the royal *Farman* for the charge of governorship of Deccan in the absence of Khan-i-Dauran.[98]

We get the information about the Kabul campaign from the royal *Farman* (old no.69/ new no.52, 26 Safar, 1055A.H/ 13 April, 1646 A.D.) to Jai Singh, Ram Singh the son of Raja Jai Singh was posted in Kabul, Shahjahan met Ram Singh on his way to Kabul. Shahjahan gave information toRaja Jai Singh that Emperor gave the *Mansab* of 1,000 *Zat* and 1,000 *Sawar* to him.[99]

Appendix –II: *Farman* (dated 26 Safar, 1055 A.H/ 13 April, 1646 A.D.) issued by Shahjahan to Raja Jai Singh

Source: *FFPMBR*, Vol.I, p.111

[97] Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.II,op.cit., pp.272-273, Salih Kambo, *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol.II, p.271.
[98] Lahori, *Badshahnama*,Vol.II, op.cit., p.389, J N. Sarkar, *History of Jaipur*, p.105.
[99] *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I, op.cit., p.110, *D.L.F.M.N*, p.8, Appendix- H.

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On 24th Rabi-ul-II, 1057 A.H. / 19 May 1647 A.D., Raja Jai Singh moved from Deccan to the court at Agra, he met the Emperor. He handed over one crore rupees and three lakhs gold *Mohars*(stamp), which he had brought from the imperial treasury.[100]

Shahjahan dispatched MirzaRaja Jai Singh to Central Asia (Balkh)

On 11th Jumad-ul-Awwal, 1057 A.H. /4th June 1647 A.D., He had reached Mughal court with 2,000 horses and also received a special robe of honour, bejewelled *Jamdhar* (side rending weapon, dagger) with *Phool Katara* (A dagger full of painting and ornaments worth in front) and increase of *mansab* with one thousand *sawar* were rendered *du aspah Sih aspah*, a horse from the royal stable. He was deputed to proceed to Balkh along with other Rajputs.[101] At this time Aurangzeb sent Raja Jai Singh with Saadat Khan, he also dispatched Bahadur Khan to take Rustam Khan from Andkhud.[102]Aurangzeb had marched with imperial forces from Balkh towards Kabul, they reached Faizabaad which was the city of Balkh, at this time Raja Jai Singh returned from Tirmiz with Saadat Khan and he joined the imperial forces.[103]

In the month of Ramazan, 1057 A.H. / 13 October, 1647 A.D., Aurangzeb divided his army into three divisions and he appointed Raja Jai Singh and his Rajputs troops on the right, Amir-ul-Umara and his troop from the left wing and Bahadur Khan appointed at the rear guard. Mutamid Khan was appointed as a *Mir Atish* (artillery man) and Prithvi Raj had taken the position of Vanguard.[104] Uzbeks were watching the opportunity of the attack on the imperial army. Time of retreat with crossing the pass of Arshak within one day and it was very slow and painful journey.

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[100]Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.II,op.cit., p.682, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, p.382 Inayat gives the detail that one crore rupees and 3,000 gold *Mohars* but Lahori gives the information that 1, 20, 00,000 rupees and 3 lakhs of *Mohars*. This information is also received from *Farman* (dated 19 Zi-l-Kada, 1056 A.H./17th December, 1646) which was issued by Shahjahan to Jai Singh, 'When you reached the capital of Akbarabad, taken two lacks eighty thousand gold mohurs from the treasury of Khwaja Rozbhan and one crore rupees from the treasury of Jawahar Khan. You would these amounts in imperial cout with full of safety. *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I, pp.114-115.

[101]Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.II, op.cit., pp.683-684, Inayat Khan, *Shahajahannama*, p.384, Salih Kambo, *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol.III, p.13, Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.I, p.690, . Khafi Khan did not give information about *Phool Katara*, but he informs that emperor gave twenty lakhs lakhs rupees to him. It was a special honour in the life of Jai Singh. Balkh was new enthusiasm to him.

[102]Muhammad Waris, *Badshahnama*, Transcribed copy no. 86,87, Deptt of History, A.M.U., Aligarh, f.22, *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol.III, p.14, Inayat Khan,*Shahajahannama*, p.399.

[103] Waris, *Badshahnama*, f.22, Salih Kambo, *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol.III, p.14, Inayat Khan, *Shahajahannama*,p.400.

[104] Waris,*Badshahnama*, f.23, Salih Kambo, *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol.III p.16, Inayat Khan, *Shahajahannama*, p.400.

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Next target of imperial army was the banks of the Surkhab, which was extremely difficult and sensitive place because Uzbeks and Hazara could attack any time. Imperial army faced many difficulties on their way. An early and unusually severe winter added greatly to the suffering of the imperial army.[105]

At this time Raja Jai Singhwas in Surkhab, his camp marched from this place, he was staying behind at the order of Aurangzeb. He had faced many difficulties on his way, on account of the slimness of the road and difficulty of defiles that occurred further on.[106]As soon as he crossed Char Chashma, he suffered very hard situation from the continuously snowfall. At this time he halted on the road. When he had reached in large mountain which is also called Hindu Koh (Hindukush) mountain,[107] the snow falling started for day and night after which he crossed the way.[108]

He received *Farman* (old no. 73/ new no.56, Dated 26 Zil Kada, 1057 A.D. /13th December 1647 A.D.) that

'His Majesty has been fully informed of the loss of one piece of his forces owing to snow and desired him to return to his native land and to attend the Royal Court when called upon to do so.'[109]

[105] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit., pp.400-401, Uzbeks followed their Central Asian tactics of horse-archers wheeling around an army that was superior in numbers, armour and fire power, Imperial army used in firearms, light canon, *Mughal Warfare*, p.185.

[106] Waris, *Badshahnama*, op.cit., f.24, Salih Kambo, *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol.III, p.16, Inayat Khan,*Shahjahannama*, p.402, J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.I, Calcutta, 1912, pp.111-112.

[107] Abul Fazl gave the description of the Hindu Kush that, "The country of Kabul is surrounded on all sides by lofty mountains, so that the sudden invasion of an enemy is attended with extreme difficulty. The *Hindu koh* separates Kabul from Badakhshan and Balkh, and seven routes are employed by the people of Turan in their marches to and fro." Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, eng tr. Colonel H.S. Jarrett, New Delhi, 1949, p.405, M.Athar Ali, The Objectives Behind the Mughal Expedition into Balkh and Badakhshan 1646-47,*Proceeding of Indian History Congress*, 29th session 1967, Patiala, 1968, p.162, 'In general the Hindukush, with heights of over 4,000 meters, posted an enormous challenge to Mughal logistic, Jos Gommans, *Mughal warfare*, p.181, also see Col Thomas Holdich, *The Gates of India Being An Historical Narrative*, Asian Education Service, New Delhi, 2002, pp.508-509.

[108] Waris, *Badshahnama*, op.cit., ff.24-25, Salih Kambo,*Amal-i-Salih*, Vol.III, p.16,Inayat Khan,*Shahjahannama*, p.402, Lahori wrote Hindu Koh, Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.II, p.669, Shahjahan's Central Asian Campaigns, 1645-1647, *http:/ historum.com/asian history*, 2012, p.4,

[109] *DLFMN*, p, It bears the Sarnama '*Bismillah*'.... on the top, S.A.I., Tirmizi, p.84, *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I, pp.118-119, Appendix-I.

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Appendix –I: *Farman* (dated 26 Zil Kada, 1057 A.H/ 13th April, 1647 A.D.) issued by Shahjahan to Raja Jai Singh

Source: *FFMBRS*, Vol.I, p.119

He reached safely to Kabul and won the honour from Shahjahan. He returned to Amber.[110] In 1058 A.H. / 1648 A.D., he returned to the court from Amber, he had received the promotion in his *mansab* of 1,000 *Sawar do aspa seh aspa* and his rank was raised to 5,000.[111]

Raja Jai Singh's three attempts of Qandahar campaign under Aurangzeb and Dara Shukoh-

Raja Jai Singh was appointed to Qandahar campaigns for three times. He had faced new weather of this area, new strategy of the war. Aurangzeb gives different types of responsibility to him. Third attempt was not only important for campaign but

[110] *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I, op.cit., pp.118-119.
[111] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit., p.442, Salih Kambo, *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol.III, p.16, Waris, *Badshahnama*, p.72.

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his relations with Dara Shukoh became terrible. Sources give a minor detail of his role in these campaigns.

Qandahar was always the matter of the prestige between Mughal emperors and Persia. Both were equal right on Qandahar. Qandahar commanded the land route to Persia. The fort of Qandahar, this is situated between Persia and Mughal Afghanistan.[112]

Ali Mardan Khan was the governor of Qandahar.[113] His relation with Shah Safi was not good, and he started revolt against him.[114] In 1047 A.H. / 1638 A.D., Ali Mardan entered the Mughal court and joined the Mughal service, he received the highest *mansab* and he became the governor of Kashmir.[115]

In 1052 A.H. / 1642 A.D., Shah Abbas II occupied the throne after the death of Shah Safi.[116] Shah Abbas II, who started to recover the Qandahar and besieged it.[117]

Shahjahan had to be rectified and he built-in out a large expedition for the healing of fort.On 10th Zil hijja, 1058 A.H. / 26 December,1648 A.D., Shahjahan selected Aurangzeb amongst the princes to precede the fort. Aurangzeb was sent with Sadaullah Khan and some of important chief officers such as Raja Jai Singh and others.[118]

Aurangzeb divided his army into seven different parts with special duties. The main body held by Aurangzeb with 18,000 horsemen, Bahadur Khan was the commander of vanguard with 15,000 horsemen, Raja Jai Singh, who was the

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[112] Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.II, op.cit., p.131, Abul Fazl saya that, "The wise of ancient times considered Kabul and Kandahar as the twin gates of Hindustan, the one leading to Turkestan and the other to Persia. The custody of these highways secured India from foreign invaders, and they are likewise the appropriate portals to foreign travels," tr., *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.II, pp.408-409.

[113] Inayat Khan,*Shahjahannama*, op.cit., p.221.

[114] Ibid, p.222.

[115] Ibid, p.252, Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.II, pp.24-40, J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.I, p.131, *Adab-i-Alamgiri* (The letters of Prince Aurangzeb to Shahjahan), The period before the war of succession, eng tr. Vincent John Adams Flynn, Australia, 1974, letter No.5, p.14.

[116] Inayat Khan, p.294, Riazul Islam, *Indo-Persian Relations A study of the Political And Diplomatic Relations between the Mughal Empire and Iran*, Tehran, 1970, p.110.

[117] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*,op.cit.,p.412

[118] Ibid, p.415, waris, *Badshahnama*,op.cit., ff.75-76, J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.I, pp.138-139.

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commander of left wing with 5,000 horsemen, Qilij Khan was the commander of right wing and Rustam Khan was the commander of rear guard.[119]

On 14th of Jamadi Awwal, 1059 A.H. /26 May, 1649 A.D., Aurangzeb established the headquarters one and half kilo meters from the fortress. He gave important responsibility to main commanders of his army. Aurangzeb should be in command of Ganj Ali Khan garden. Raja Jai Singh was posted in the garden of the Aforesaid Khan which was known as Abbasabad. Qulij Khan was in the Bagh-i-Nazar garden.[120]

Three imperial trenches were established in front of Babawali gate. First trench command was in the hands of Nijabat Khan but after sometimes this command was given to Raja Jai Singh. Qasim Khan was the commander of second trench, third was under the command of Qilij Khan[121].

Among the commanders, only Raja Jai Singh achieved the success by lot of efforts. He was close to the road leading to the fortress from that direction, and he performed his duties with full strength.[122] After the three and one-half month, imperial army could not achieve the victory on Qandahar.

Inayat Khan had given the reasons for this loss. He says that, "Despite the praiseworthy exertions of the faithful servants of the crown, since they possessed neither a siege train of battering guns nor skilful artillerymen, the capture of the fortress still seemed as distant as ever. For these reasons and also because the winter was now close at hands."[123] Shahjahan recalled Aurangzeb and the imperial army from Qandahar.[124]

In Rajab, 1062 A.H. / 22nd June, 1652 A.D., Shahjahan once again appointed the Aurangzeb to Qandahar, Aurangzeb marched from Multan with large force.[125] Waris says that '56,000 troopers were sent in Qandahar.'[126] Inayat Khan also gives the information about the troopers that, "The centre was composed of 10,000 cavalry.

[119] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit., p.426, J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.I, p.140, *Adab-i-Alamgiri* (translated work) gives a detail about preparation of Qandahar campaign and topography features of this fort, Letter No.8, p.22.
[120] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit., pp.427-428, Salih Kambo, *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol.III, p.82.
[121] Ibid., p.428.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit., p.433.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit., p.463, Waris, *Badshahnama*, f.63b.
[126] Waris, *Badshahnama*, op.cit., f.64a.

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the vanguard of 10,500, rightwing of 10,000, out of which its main body contained 3,500, its rear guard 4,000 and its outer flank 2,500, the leftwing also of 10,000, distributed in the same way, the rearguard and left flanking forces of 2,500 each, and advanced guard of 2,000."[127]

A *Nishan* dated (old no.32/new no.202, 19th Jamad-ul-Awwal1062 A.H./18th April, 1652 A.D.) of Aurangzeb which is addressed to Raja Jai Singh. He joined the expedition against Qandahar.[128]

On 16 Rabi-ul Awwal, 1062 A.H. / 25th February, 1652 A.D., Aurangzeb divided his army into different directions-

- Raja Jai Singh was the commander of vanguard with 204 nobles and *mansabdars*, 1,000 musketeers and 3,000 infantry.[129]
- Sadaullah Khan was the commander of centre along with 364 nobles and *mansabdars*, 1,000 archers and 1,000 infantry matchlock and rocket men.
- Rustam Khan was the commander of the main body of the rightwing with 500 *mansabdars*.
- Mahabat Khan was the commander of leftwing with 424 *mansabdars*, 400 musketeers and 1000 infantry.
- Nijabat Khan was the commander of rear guard with 150 *mansabdars*.
- Shad Khan was the commander of advanced guard with 800 *mansabdars*.[130]

The following was distribution of trenches going from the west by the north to the east and south-

Opposite of Lakah fort – Aurangzeb, Qilij Khan, Shah Nawaz Khan, Rajah Pahar singh Bundel.

Opposite the Ali Qabi gate – Baqi Khan.

Opposite the forty steps – Raja Raj Rup.

Opposite the Babawali gate – Mahabat Khan and Raja Anurudh.

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[127] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit., pp.463-464.
[128] *Farsi Farmano ke Prakash mai, MughalKalin Bharat evam Rajput Sashak*, Vol.III, tr. Shujauddin Khan Naqshbandi, ed. Mahendra Khadgawat, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner, 2015, p.77-78. *DLFMN*, p.32, Tirmizi, Vol.II, p.98, Appendix-j.
[129] Shyamaldas, *Vir Vinod*, Vol.II, pt.II,op.cit., p.1291.
[130] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit., p.464, Salih Kambo, *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol.III, pp. 139-140.

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Opposite the Waisqaran gate – Najabat Khan.

Opposite the Khawajah Khizir gate to the Mashuri gate – Raja Jai Singh, Qasim Khan, Sadaullah Khan.[131]

Shahjahan recalled Aurangzeb from Qandahar and returned to the court.[132]After some time, Raja Jai Singh arrived from Qandahar and had good fortune of paying his respect.[133]We do not find much information about the role of Raja Jai Singh in Qandahar campaign.

Raja Jai Singh's Third Attempt under Dara Shikoh

In 1063 A.H. / 1653 A.D., Raja Jai Singh arrived at Qandahar with Dara Shikoh in the third expedition of Qandahar. Dara Shukoh divided his army in different direction of Qandahar fort. Raja Jai Singh was posted against Mashuri gate, which was situated near the south- western side. He was trained and was an expert for the battle field action. Mahabat Khan was in Baba Wali gate, Jafar Mir Atish was posted between Waisqaran gate and Khwajah Khizir gate, Abdullah was also inKhawajah Khizir gate, Qasim Khan was posted between Khizir gate and Mashuri gate.[134] We have not found any activities of Jai Singh in third expedition of Qandahar.

He did not play any effective role in third expedition of Qandahar. *Lata'if-ul-Akhbar* is not only important for third expedition of Qandahar but also important to study how differences developed between Dara Shukoh and Raja Jai Singh. It was words war. Dara Shukoh used very harsh words to him. He was in silent mood that time, he had adopted cool nature.[135]

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[131] J N Sarkar, *History Of Aurangzeb*, Vol.I, op.cit., p.153, Munshi-ul-Mulk Shaikh Abul Fateh Qabul Khan, *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, Vol.I, ed. Abdul Gafur Choudhry, Lahore, 1971, p.68.

[132] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit.,p.472.

[133] Ibid, p.473.

[134] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit., pp.477-478, J.N. Sarkar, *History of Jaipur*, p.108, B.P. Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, p.220, K.R. Qanungo, *Dara Shikoh*, Vol.I, Calcutta, Second Edition, 1952, p.34.

[135] Niccoloo Manucci, *Storioa do Mogor or Mogul India*, Vol.I, eng tr. William Irwin, Calcutta, 1965, pp.225, Manucci says that, "Dara also insulted Raja Jasing (Jai Singh), a very powerful Hindu prince. He said thatJai Singh looked like a mucisian." Other example of Dara Shukho's insulting words used to Jai Singh gives by *Lata'if-ul-Akhbar*, "This is third time that you have come to Qandahar. If you fail this time also, how will you show your face to the women of Hindustan? In truth women are better than the men who have returned again and again from this place." As cited by Qanungo's Dara Shukoh, p.53, Badi-uz-Zaman Rashid, *Lata'if-ul-Akhbar* (letter written by Dara Shukoh to Raja Jai Singh), f.20a, this source is available in Sitamau library, its Raghubir collection and catalogue number is 222. *Lata'if-ul-Akhbar* is an anonymous account.

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The conversation between Dara Shukoh and Raja Jai Singh is important, because of that after this conversation their relations became strained. Raja Jai Singh was hurt from Dara's words. Dara had asked him that did he agree to deliver the attack. Dara had asked some questions regarding two campaigns of Qandahar. *Lata'if-ul-Akhbar* is reliable source for this conversation-

"Rajah Jiu, your exertions in the Emperor's business have fallen short of expectation from the very start (of the siege). No plea will be heard now..... If your objection is that no breach has been made in front of your battery,I give you Jafar's." The Rajah declined the offer and said, "By the time Jafar and Izzat Khan will get into the front through the breaches (made by them), I shall be able to do the same by fixing scaling-ladders to the wall." Dara enquired, "If so, on what date do you agree to deliver the attack"?Raja Jai Singh gave the answer that, "I have nothing to do with agreements and assurances; I have simply to obey your command." Dara became angry on Raja Jai Singh and said that, "What words are these? You must say plainly whether an assault is advisable or not. If you mean to keep yourself aloof from the affairs, give it to me in writing, so that I may either order a retreat to Hindustan or recall Rustam Khan Bahadur and make an attack with his advice". Raja Jai Singh given the answer of Dara's question, "I am prepared to give it in writing that I am always in favour of an attack, and also ever ready to deliver it". Dara retorted, "Your heart and tongue do not seem to agree. What is in your, your tongue does not give out, and whatever your tongue utters finds no echo in your heart. If they are unison, why do you not say straightway that you consider an assault to be advisable and that by a concerted effort you will capture the fort? Perhaps it has occurred to you that I shall return without conquering Qandahar. If I do so, how can I show my face to the Padshah?" Raja Jai Singh rejoined, "Your Highness is the very light of the Emperor's eyes. Whenever His Majesty's glance will light upon Your Highness's world-illuminating countenance, it will be quite welcome. But how shall we humble servants show our faces?"[136]

Dara Shukoh taunted Raja Jai Singh for the two previous failures as if he had full command of royal army.[137] Dara Shukoh dryly remarked that, "You have twice shown this very face to His Majesty; the difficulty is rather with me, for whom this

[136] K.R. Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh* , op.cit., pp.53-54.
[137] J N Sarkar, *History of Jaipur*, op.cit., p.108.

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will be the first occasion for doing it. Whether you agree to the proposal of assault or not, *I do command you to make an assault*, no matter whether you die or conquer the fort....."[138]

Dara could not achieve success in two earlier attempts. Dara had given the order to his commanders that the trenches of Qilij Khan, Qasim Khan, Ghairat Khan were situated on the left side of *Sher Haji* wall and Raja Jai Singh and others were deputed to plant their scaling ladders against the wall of *Sher Haji* protection and bring their men up on every side in order to confuse the besiege.[139] But all efforts of Dara were waste and at this time, his relation with Raja Jai Singh was not well. Dara returned to India from Qandahar.[140]

We can conclude that he was a powerful military commander of Shahjahan's period. He played significant role in Deccan, North-east, Central Asia and Qandahar campaigns. He never disappointed his governor at the time of battle, these governors appreciated his services in front of Shahjahan. He fulfilled his responsibilities with honesty, he obeyed the imperial orders which were issued during the time of battles. Every aspects of his military career under Shahjahan, which have been highlighted in this chapter, he followed discipline and manners of battle. He trained his Rajput troopers and elephants and horses very well. He believed his bravely character. Emperor entrusted the responsibility of vanguard to him. He fought with full dedication in the battle field.

He received the promotion for conspicuous merit. Shahjahan's practice of honouring favoured subordinates by giving gifts of personal possessions. *Khilat*, valuable shield (*Dhal*) was a royal gift to Raja Jai Singh. He was a close and trusted supporter of Shahjahan.[141]

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[138] K.R. Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, op.cit., pp.54-55.
[139] Inayat Khan, *Shahahanama*, op.cit., p.491.
[140] Ibid, p.493.
[141] Robert Elgood, *Arms and Armour at Jaipur court the royal collection*, New Delhi, 2015, p.168.

Source: *Arms and Armour at Jaipur court the royal Collection.*

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CHAPTER –III:

Mirza Raja Jai Singh and the War of Succession

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Chapter-III

MIRZA RAJA JAI SINGH AND WAR OF SUCCESSION

War of succession was always burning issue of Mughal Empire. Humayun, Jahangir and Shahjahan faced this struggle. Mughal nobility played a significant role in their struggle because they were worried about their position at Mughal Empire. They supported any princes of their own choice. Their choice depended upon personal advantage.[1]

The problem was that there was no law of succession. The condition was such that not only elder son was claimant of the throne, every son claimed to the throne. Nobles had taken the steps very carefully because of that their position depended on new emperor.[2]

The Mughal Emperor Shahjahan fell seriously ill on 7th Zi'l-Hijja 1067 A.H.\ 16 September 1657 A.D. He nominated Dara Shukoh as his heir-apparent (*wal'i'ahd)*[3]. We know that Shahjahan had four sons Dara Shukoh, Aurangzeb, Murad and Shah Shuja. Shahjahan's sons were ready to fight for throne after his illness.[4]They were the governor of different Mughal provinces, Dara Shukoh was the governor of Kabul, Aurangzeb was the governor of Deccan, Murad was the governor of Gujarat and Shah Shuja was the governor of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. These brothers had different characters and aims. They had expertise in the art of warfare, able administration and statecraft.[5]

At that time, Raja Jai Singh was an influential noble at Mughal court, his sons (Ram Singh and Kirat Singh) were also promoted with highest *mansab*, he promoted

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[1]Satish Chandra, *History of Medieval India (800-1700)*, New Delhi, 2007, p.330, Ram Prasad Khosla, *Mughal Kingship and Nobility*, Allahabad, 1956, p.88.

[2] Ram Prasad, *Mughal Kingship and Nobility*, op.cit., pp.86-87.

[3] F. Steingass, *A comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, New Delhi, 2011, p.1481.

[4]Moh.Sadiq, *Tarikh-i-Shahjahani wa Aurangzeb*, Rotograph, no 45, C.A.S. Department of History, A.M.U., Aligarh, f.96b, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, ed. W.E. Begley and Z.A. Desai, Delhi, 1990, p.545.

[5] Moh. Sadiq, *Tarikh-i-Shahjahani wa Aurangzeb*, op.cit., f.96b, Aqil Khan Razi, *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, ed. Zafar Hasan,Delhi, 1945, p.14, Bhimsen, *Nushka-i-Dilkasha*, R No.43, C.A.S. Department of History, A.M.U., Aligarh f.10b (tr. J.N. Sarkar, ed.V.G. Khobrekar, Bombay, 1952), Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II, ed. Maulvi Kabiruddin & Ghulam Qadir, Calcutta, 1870, pp.4-5, Muhammad Saqi Musta'idd Khan, *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, ed. Agha Ahmad, Calcutta, 1871, pp.2-3, Sujan Rai Bhandari, *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, ed. ZafarHasan, Delhi, 1918, p.487. John F. Richards, *The Mughal Empire*, New Delhi, 2014, p.158, Nicclao Manucci, *Storioa do Mogor*, Vol.I, tr. William Irwin, Calcutta, 1965, pp.229-386 (Manucci served under Dara as a younger gunner, he given full detail about the war of succession from his own observation).

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to 6,000 *Zat* and 6,000 *Sawar* with 5,000 *do aspa si haspa*.[6] His two sons received the *mansab* of 3,000 *Zat* / 2,000 *Sawar* and 1,000 *Zat*/ 9,00 *Sawar*.[7] Manucci observes about the position of Raja Jai Singh that, "Who was a partisan of this prince, a man of great power and riches, renowned throughout Hindustan, and of great capacity that there was not like in kingdom."[8]

Raja Jai Singh did not have a character of flattery, he had believed that he was not a servant of any particular individual his duty was to serve the state. Therefore, he performed his imperial duties in the struggle of throne. Shahjahan had believed his loyalty to Mughal Empire. Emperor gave many important duties to him. He followed the orders of Shahjahan in this struggle. Shahjahah had full trust on him.[9] Jai Singh well knew that Aurangzeb most of talented among his brothers but did not support to him.

War of succession is interesting theme of Mughal history, many historians have worked on this theme. A large number of *Persian*, English and travellers sources are available on this issue. We have collected authentic information from *Farmans, Nishans* and *Manshurs*. Emperor and princes issued a large number of *Farmans* and *Nishans*. Aurangzeb issued *Manshurs* to Raja Jai Singh.

In this chapter firstly, we shall examine the role of Raja Jai Singh in war of succession. he was a supporter of Dara Shukoh in the starting of this war. But Daralost the battle of Dharmat and Samugarh, then he became supporter of Aurangzeb. The attention of these Mughal princes was attracted to him. Secondly, we shall ascertain the reasons that prompted different Rajput nobles to side with the contending princes. His political career started during the time of war of succession.

At this time, tension brew up between four sons of Shahjahan for accession and they clashed into four-sided war of succession, differences arose among the princes mainly between Aurangzeb and Dara Shukoh and the Mughal Empire had no apparent internal and external danger.[10] Raja Jai Singh was appointed in Deccan under Aurangzeb.

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[6] Muhammad Salih Kambo, *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol.III,op.cit., Calcutta, 1939, p.277.
[7] Shyamaldas, *VirVinod (MewarKaitihas)*, Vol.II, Pt.I,Pt.I, Udaipur, 1943, p.366.
[8] Manucci, *Storioa do Mogor*, Vol.I,op.cit., p.234.
[9] C.B. Tripathi, Was Raja Jai Singh Treacherous to Dara Shukoh (summary), P.*I.H C.*, Walter, 1953, p.261.
[10] Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, op.cit.,Vol.II, pp.4-5.

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M. Athar Ali has provided a table of the Rajput supporters of respective princes in the war of succession. He shows that 22 Rajputs supported Dara Shukoh, 9 Rajputs supported to Aurangzeb, 9 Rajputs supported to Murad while Shah Shuja had no support of Rajput nobles.[11]

Raja Jai Singh's Campaign against Shah Shuja

Shah Shuja was the governor of Bengal and he proclaimed himself emperor. He read *Khutba* himself and issued coinage.[12] Dara Shukoh sent two armies against his brothers one was against Shah Shuja and second against Murad and Aurangzeb under the command of Jaswant Singh and Raja Jai Singh.[13]

On 4th Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1068 A.H. / 10 December 1657 A.D., Raja Jai Singh along with Sulaiman Shukoh was dispatched against Shah Shuja. Their army was organised by twenty thousand cavalry and two thousand infantry.[14]

At that time, Raja Jai Singh's *mansab* had increased to 6,000 *Zat* and 5,000 *Sawar*, one of the highest ranks of *do aspa* and *sih aspa* and one elephant, *Iraqi* drum and one-lakh rupees in cash were conferred.[15]

From the *Farmans* issued at the battle against Shah Shuja, we can see that Shahjahan used harsh language for his son. He gives the instructions and suggestion to Jai Singh as to how to deal with Shah Shuja, how to manage his army? Shahjahan sent a considerable amount of money to Jai Singh for Bahadurpur battle.

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[11] M. Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, Delhi, 1997, pp.23-24. M. Athar Ali says that Qanungo has shown at length how Mirza Raja Jai Singh had become secret supporter of Aurangzeb, and played a key role in the overthrow of Dara Shukoh,p.22.

[12] Sujan Rai Bhandari, *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, op.cit., pp.513-514, Ishwardas Nagar,*Futuhat-i-Alamgiri*, R.No. 42, C.A.S. Department of History, A.M.U., Aligarh, f.12a, Ishwar Das Nagar had been detail about the diplomatic role of Raja Jai Singh in this war in his work *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri*. How to use Raja Jai Singh diplomatically steps against Shah Shuja? Ishwardas Nagar says that, 'This Raja Jai Singh was expert in diplomacy, J. Allan, *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol.II, ed. H.H. Dodwell, London,1935,p.417, Mohammad Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.I, ed. Khadim Husaini and Abdul Hai, Calcutta, pp.30-31,Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II, p.5.

[13] Moh.Sadiq, *Tarikh-i-Shahjahani wa Aurangzeb*, op.cit., f.96b, Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*,Vol.II, p.6, *Kachhawan Ri Vanshavali*, ed. Shyam Singh Ratnawat, Jaipur, 1981, p.96.

[14] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit., p.545,Salih Kambo, *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol.III, pp.273-274,Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II, pp.5-6, Saqi Musta'idd Khan, *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, p.3, Bhimsen, *Nushka-i-Dilkasha*, f.10b,pp.4, Sujan Rai Bhandari, *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, pp.488-489, Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.I, pp.30-31, Mir Mohammad Ma'soumIbn-e Hasan Saleh, *Tarikh-e Shah Shujah'i*, ed. Seyed Mohammad Yunus Jafery, New Delhi, p.68, K.R. Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, Vol.I, Calcutta,1952, p.167.

[15] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit., p.545, Salih Kambo, *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol.III, p.274, Munshi-ul-Mulk Shaikh Abul Fateh Qabul Khan, *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, Vol.II, ed. Abdul Gafur Choudhry, Lahore, 1971, p.988.

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Shahjahan issued a *Farman* (6 Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1068 A.D. /2nd December 1657, Old no.82/ Newno.68) to Raja Jai Singh that

'Informing him [Raja Jai Singh] that rebel prince (Shuja) has reached Patna and has got a force of forty thousand, desired him to wait at some convenient place till re-enforcements arrive. Promises are reaching to him after a fortnight.'[16]

A *Farman* (11 Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1068/7th February 1657, Old no.77/ New no.69) issued by Shahjahan at that

"Informing him [Raja Jai Singh] that the rebel prince [ShahShuja] has taken shelter in the forest and he does not come forward to offer a battle. We hope that rebellion of Shuja would be finished very soon. You do not be excited but wait of right opportunity and then you direct to launch a surprise attack. Everyday our army became powerful. We sent five lacks rupees to him with the hands of Abdullah Khan and Saiyyed Muzaffar Khan. Today we sent six lacks rupees with the hands of Chatrbhuj and providence will crown him out of whom one lack has been granted to him as a reward and five lacks to be disbursed among the army."[17]

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[16] *Farasi Farmano ke prakash mai Mughalkalian Bhart evam Rajput Sashak*, Vol.I, Hindi tr.Shujauddin Khan Naqshbndi, ed. Mahendra Khadgawat, Rajasthan State Archive, Bikaner,2010,p.142, *A Descriptive List of Farmans, Manshurs, Nishans*, Directorate of Archives, Govt. of Rajasthan, Bikaner, p.10.

[17] *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I, op.cit., pp.144-145, *DLFMN*, p.10, Appendix-A.

Appendix –A: *Farman* (11 Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1068 A.H./7th February, 1657) issued by Shahjahan to Raja Jai Singh

Source: *FFPMBRS*, VoLI, p.145

Ishwar Das Nagar's *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri*, Ma'asum's *Tarikh-E Shah Shuja'I*, *Hafi Anjumann* and travellers accounts are important sources. These accounts give detail about Jai Singh's campaign against Shah Shuja and his diplomatic character. After the study of Nagar's account, we observe that Jai Singh and Diler Khan had adopted dual policy. This account gives detail about the meeting between Jai Singh

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and Shah Shuja. How to make strategy of Raja Jai Singh with Sulaiman Shukoh against Shuja?

Ishwardas Nagar says about Raja Jai Singh-

"راجہ جیسنگہ کہ در عالم تربیر نظیر خود نداشت"[18]

'Raja Jai Singh who was expert in diplomacy.'

Raja Jai Singh had suggested to Sulaiman Shuja that,

"We apparently desert from yourcamp and join Muhammad Shuja. At an opportune moment, we shall severe his head, which is now embroiled with imaginary intuitions from his body and bring it before you."[19]

Other side they convinced Shah Shuja and won his faith. They sent a message to Shah Shuja's advisors that they had been at loggerheads with Dara Shukoh for a long period. Therefore, Sulaiman Shukoh too was well inclined towards us. They would join the service of Shah Shuja. Unfortunately, he did not believe them.[20]

After this message, a meeting fixed between Raja Jai Singh, Diler Khan and Shah Shuja. They explained their strategy in front of prince against Sulaiman Shukoh. They made Sulaiman Shukoh prisoner and brought him before Shah Shuja.[21] Shah Shuja could not believe their words and he asked his trusty officer that,

"خلاف عہد نمودن در آئین عداست و فتوت ناسترده و ناپسندیده است"

"Acting against the promise given is not permissible in the rules of justice and conquest. It is neither lauded nor approved."[22]

Travellers account gives the information about the secret instruction by Shahjahan to Jai Singh. He avoided war against Shah Shuja. Mannuci was an eyewitness of this event. He wrote in his account his own observation. We do not fully believe his account.

We have collected information from Mannuci's account about a letter, which writes by Jai Singh to Shah Shuja. He gave information to Shah Shuja that Shahjahan

[18] Ishwardas Nagar, *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri*, op.cit., f.12a.
[19] Ishwardas Nagar, *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri*, op.cit., ff.12a-12b, tr.& ed. Tanseem Ahmad, Delhi, 1978, p.11.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid, ff.12b-13a, pp.11-12.
[22] Ishwardas Nagar, *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri*, op.cit., f.13b, tr, p.12.

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still lives and his health was perfect. He tried to convince Shah Shuja that Shahjahan was not against him. Shah Shuja would come back to his province Bengal-[23]

"Mighty Prince Shah Shuja 1. The emperor Shahjahan your highness had come from your province with valiant soldiers received news and captains wreak vengeance on someone for putting your death as was asserted. But the report is false, for Shahjahan still lives and enjoys perfect health. As an intimate friend of your highness, I can assure you that he continues alive and well. Thus, come back to your province. As an addition to it, Shahjahan makes out a grant of the city of Patana (Patna), with its territory, in recognition of the love, you have displayed to him at this time. It was an excellent decision, on receipt of such news, to take his field, where by your highness proved yourself a valorous prince and leader. But it would be a still better resolve if you were now to retreat, when you find that your father lives. You will thereby avoid causing him to suspect you of rebellion, and forcing him to send against you a still greater army for your destruction. I hope that your highness will listento my advice, and withdraw without any delay. I make promise of assisting you when the need arises."[24]

Shah Shuja received this letter, he did not believe Raja Jai Singh's words, and he gave the reply to Raja Jai Singh's letter-

"Valorous Captain, Raja Jai Singh 1- The reason of my coming from the territory of Bengal is notorious throughout Hindustan, and the news received of the deathof my father constrained me to collect what forces I had and take the roadforDihli. Now that you assure me, my father is alive and good health, I am satisfied to withdraw once more into my government. But it is imperative that you, being a vassal, retire the first, as befits the honour of the royal prince, such as I am; and I give my word that I will retreat, praying you meanwhile to retrain your affection towards me."[25]

[23]Manucci, *Storioa Do Mogor*, Vol.I,op.cit., pp.234-235.
[24]Ibid.
[25]Manucci, *Storioa Do Mogor*, Vol.I,op.cit., p.235.

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On 21st Jamada-a'lAwwal 1068 A.H. / 14th February 1658 A.D., Raja Jai Singh with Sulaiman Shukoh and his military troopers went to Bahadurpur[26] near Banaras. Shuja prepared his army for war against Imperial army and had possession of several boats, he advanced to give battle to Raja Jai Singh and halted a mile and half from him. On24thFebruary 1658, Raja Jai Singh moved his tent with large number of army, elephant, artillery, before sunrise when Shuja was sleeping in his tent. It was surprise attacked Shuja. He found that all was lost.This battle continuously took place for four hours, which made the battlefield tulips. His treasure, artillery, materials was plundered and fell into the hands of Raja Jai Singh. A number of servants and companions of Shuja were taking prisoners.[27] He reached Patna[28] and made his camp at Surajgarh (35 miles south-west of Monghyr).[29]

After the victory over Shah Shuja, DaraShukohwrote a letter to Raja Jai Singh (Dated to 20th February 1658, *Hafi Anjumann*,) Fakhir Khan arrived on Jamad-ul-Awwal, 1068 A.D/18 February 1658, and gave the news of your victory.

"May God make this victory auspicious to Ala Hazrat Shah Baba [Sulaiman Shukoh], to Dada Bhai [Raja Jai Singh][30], to me and the nobles of this daily increasing state! You have delighted the departed spirit of Man Singh..."[31]

On 28 Jamad-ul-Awwal, 1068 A.H. /21st February 1658, Shahjahan issued *Farman* to Raja Jai Singh after his victory on Shah Shuja that

"We [Shahjahan] are very pleased with your brave service. Therefore, you are likewise conferred increment of one thousand *Zat*, one thousand *Sawar* in your *mansab* and his *mansab* fixed at 7,000 *Zat* and 6,000 *Sawar* of which 5,000 *Sawar do*

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[26]Inayat Khan, *Shahjahanmama*, op.cit, p.547, Bahadurpur was situated 5 miles north- east of Banaras and two miles east of the modern Mughal Sarai and of the Duffer in bridge, J.N. Sarkar, *History of Jaipur*, ed. RaghubirSinh, New Delhi, 1984, p.114.

[27]Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-al-Lubab*,Vol.II, op.cit., pp.5-6, Ishwardas Nagar, *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri*, f.14a, Bikaner, Ma'soum, *Tarikh-E Shah Shuja'I*, pp.69-70.

[28]Khafi Khan,*Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II, op.cit., p.6,Salih Kambo, *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol.III, p.275, J.N. Sarkar, *History of Jaipur*, pp.114-115, Fergus Nicoll, *Shahjahan*, New Delhi, 2009, pp.233-234, Ma'soum, *Tarikh-E Shah Shuja'I*, pp.68-70, Abul Fateh Qabul Khan, *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, Vol.II, p.1035.

[29]Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit, p.548.

[30]Term of Dada Bhai endearment was used by Dara to the Mirza Rajah, perhaps on account of his being Sulaiman's uncle-in-law, Prince Muhammad Dara Shukoh and Mirza Rajah Jai Singh Kachhwaha, *Indian History Record Commission*, Vol IX, Lucknow, 1926, p.90.

[31] Ibid. p.90.

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aspa, and *seh aspa* are of the higher grades. You could not chance to Shuja up to Munghyr and conquer Patna on the way."[32]

Appendix –B: *Farman* (28 Jamad-ul-Awwal, 1068 A.H./ 21st February, 1658) issued by Shahjahan to Raja Jai Singh

Source: *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I, p.159

After the success at Bahadurpur battle, Raja Jai Singh waited for the order of emperor. Manucci wrote that emperor gave the secret order to Raja Jai Singh.

Sulaiman Shukoh continued the pursuit to Shah Shuja but Raja Jai Singh did not agree with him. He did not know that what would happen in future-

1- The first was that Shahjahan still lived, and would release him, thus Raja Jai Singh would only gain one enemy more at court.
2- The second was the orders of the king required avoiding a battle.
3- The third was his grievance against Prince Dara Shukoh.[33]

[32] *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I,op.cit., p.158-159,*DLFMN*, p.37, Appendix-B.

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These were own perception of Manucci.

The other option was that to route him (Shah Shuja) by the exercise of assurance that was for two reasons-

1- The first was that he would lose reputation if he attempted an attack on the prince's rear, a movement.
2- The second was not to leave an opening for Prince Shah Shuja to act with still greater boldness, and there were create more disorder at court.[34]

Bernier also says that Shahjahan gave secret instructions to Raja Jai Singh that he should avoid war against Shah Shuja. If it was possible, Shahjahan says that, "Not his duty alone but it was also his policy to demand the reservation of his strength for more justifiable and promising occasion: until by malady have terminated in death or at least until the result of the united efforts of Auren-zebe [Aurangzeb] and Morad-Bakche [Murad Bakhsh] shall be ascertained."[35]

Sulaiman Shukoh was young and had new enthusiasm. He too wanted this opportunity for establishing his position as a general at Mughal court that a large army backed him and most effectively generals. Thus, neither Shuja nor Sulaiman Shukoh was ready to avoid any conflict with them.[36]

Sulaiman was not happy with Raja Jai Singh's activities and he complained to his father against him. Dara had written a letter to Raja Jai Singh-

"The news about the other side included in my son [SulaimanShukoh]'s letters to the Emperor is suspected by his Majesty to be fabricated through malice. It has therefore been written to my son that the news about Shuja should be written by you, so that the Emperor may credit it."[37]

On Jamad-ul-Akhir, 1068 A.H. /27 February 1658 A.D., it appears from the *Nishan* (Old no.97/New no.239) that

[33] Manucci, *Storioa Do Mogor*, op.cit, p.236.
[34] Ibid. P.236. Manucci give this information is not enough when we see the contemporary sources. The *Farmans* and *Nishans* issued to Raja Jai Singh, foreign writer give different information as compared to Persian sources.
[35] Francois Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire 1656-1668*, tr. Archibald Constable, New Delhi, 2004, p.35.
[36] Ibid.
[37] K.R. Qanungo, Prince Dara Shukoh and Mirza Raja Jai Singh, *J.H.R.C*, op.cit., p.90.

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"*Badshah Salamat* and me [Dara Shukoh] are happy with your services against enemies. You crossed the river before reached enemies. Kaim Beg says that Mirza Raja says that I would full efforts in struggle. *Hala Hazrat* also says that unmanner enemies's heads would cut and *In Shaa Allah Tala* our soldiers win. *Badshah Slamat* said that as Rajah Man Singh had conquered and crushed Mirza Hakim, God willing, Mirza Rajah will crush this unmannerly and luckless wretch".[38]

Appendix –C: *Nishan* (Jamad-ul-Akhir, 1668 A.H. / 27 February, 1658 A.D.) issued by Dara Shukoh to Raja Jai Singh

Source: *FFPMBRS*, Vol.III, p.177

Therefore, Dara Shukoh sent a *Nishan* (Old no.110/New no.243) on4thShaban, 1068 A.H. / 27th April 1658 A.D., to Raja Jai Singh, This *Nishan* shows that –he tells terms about alliance of Mungir to Raja Jai Singh-

"Advise him to direct Jan Beg [the counsellor of Shah Shuja] to submit a solemn oath accordingly sealed by Prince Shah Shuja that he leaves Monghyr. On the other side, Raja Jai Singh and Sulaiman Shukoh should promise on behalf of Shahjahan that neither they would pursue him and nor would proceed towards Rajmahal and Bengal.

[38] *DLFMN*, op.cit., p.37, *Dara Shukoh*, Vol.I, p.169, *Farsi Farmano ke Prakash mai Mughal Kalin Bharat evam Rajput Sashak*, ed. & tr. Shujauddin Khan Naqshbandi, ed. Mahendra Khadgawat, Vol.III, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner, 2015, p.177, Appendix-C.

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He says that after dealing with Prince Shuja in this way he should hasten to the Royal court."[39]

Appendix –D: *Nishan* (24 th Shaban, 1068 A.H. / 27 April, 1658 A.D.) issued by Dara Shukoh to Raja Jai Singh

Source: *FFPMBRS*, Vol.III, p.193

Dara Shukoh had given advice to Sulaiman Shukoh for alliance with Shuja because Murad and Aurangzeb united and attacked imperial army that banned their way at Dharmat. On the 13Jamada'-Akhir, 1608 A.H/ 7th May 1658 A.D., treaty of Munghyr was signed. Terms of this treaty were settled between Raja Jai Singh and Mirza Jan Beg. Shah Shuja had merged his rule in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to east of Munghyr.[40]

Dara wanted experienced generals for the battle (Dharmat) against his younger brothers (Murad and Aurangzeb) so he wrote a letter to Raja Jai Singh.

[39] *FFPMBRS*, Vol.III, pp.193, 194-195, op.cit.,*DLFMN*, p.38, Appendix-D.
[40] Ma'soum, *Tarikh-E Shah Shuja'I*, op.cit., pp.83, 84-85, J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.II, p.294,

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"Come with Sulaiman Shikuh quickly, as I have a large army but no experienced general."[41]

Shahjahan wrote a letter to Raja Jai Singh he concludes peace with Shuja at once and he returned to Agra with all Rajput troops.[42] He also issued the *Farman* (18 Rajab, 1068 \ 11 April 1658) to Raja Jai Singh-

'Acknowledging the receipt of his *Arzdasht* of 3rd Rajab, informs. His Majesty may accept the apology of the rebel Prince, provided he (Prince) surrenders Bengal, Monghyr and Mohi, However the *Subah* of Orissa may be given to him [ShahShuja]."[43]

Appendix – E: *Farman* (18 Rajab, 1668 A.H. / 11 April, 1658 A.D.) issued by Shahjahan to Raja Jai Singh

Source: *FFPMBRS*, Vol.II, p.14

[41] K.R. Qanungo, Prince Dara Shukoh and Mirza Raja Jai Singh, *I.H.R.C*, op.cit., p.90, Letter No.48. Received on the 21st Jamad-a'l-Akhir, 1068 A.H. / 16th May 1658 A.D.
[42] K.R. Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, op.cit, p.176.
[43] *FFPMBRS*, Vol.II, op.cit., p.14, *DLFMN*, p.13, Appendix-E.

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After study of these *Farmans* and *Nishans*, we find that the status of Raja Jai Singh at Mughal army. His campaign against Shah Shuja was important to create his position at Mughal court. Shahjahan and Dara Shukoh gave instructions and advices to him.

We have found three *Persian* letters of Raja Jai Singh in 'Some letters from Jaipur Records in Jadunath Sarkar's collection at Raghubir Singh Library, Sitamau (Malwa)'. These letters shows that Shah Shuja was ready for treaty with Sulaiman Shukoh and settle terms of treaty.

Haft Anjumann is the most important source for the role of Raja Jai Singh in war of succession. Three Persian letters, throw light on the military campaigns of him in Bahadurpur against Shah Shuja.[44] He wrote two letters, one was, addressed to Shahjahan and second to Dara Shukoh.

The first letter was addressed to emperor Shahjahan, is dated 6 Shaban 1068 A.H. / 29 April, 1658A.D.This letter had been written in the eleventh week after the battle of Bahadurpur battle. The letter bears out that Jag Beg, the plenipotentiary of Shuja effected a treaty with Prince Sulaiman Shukoh, the terms of which were that the fort of Monghyr was to be handed over to Prince Sulaiman Shukoh and that Shuja, on reaching Rajmahal, would sent his sons to Shahjahan.[45]

The second letter was addressed to prince Dara dated 6 Shaban, 1068 A.H/29th April 1658 A.D. In this letter, Mirza Raja Jai Singh gives reason that the imperial forces continued to remain at Amber. For which the impenetrable forest, the scarcity of water therein and the lack of their proper knowledge about geography and road of that area was mainly responsible. It then further records about the arrival of Jan Beg the plenipotentiary of prince Shuja, to the camp of Sulaiman Shukoh with a proposal for a treaty. The main stipulation of which was the ceding of the fortress of Monghyr to the imperial forces (of Prince Sualiman Shukoh). It was final acceptance.[46]

Third letter was Dara Shukoh, he had given advice to Sulaiman Shukoh for alliance with Shuja because Murad and Aurangzeb united and attacked on imperial

[44] B.P. Ambashtheya, Some letters from Jaipur Records in Sir Jadunath Sarkar's collections, Raghubir Singh's library, Sitamau (Malwa), *P.I.H.C*, Twenty Seven Session, Allahabad, 1965, p.262.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.

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army that banned their way at Dharmat. On the 13Jamada'-Akhir, 1608 A.H/ 7th May 1658 A.D., treaty of Munghyr was signed.[47]

Dara Shukoh issued a *Nishan* (9thShaban, 1068 A.H. /2nd May 1658 A.D., Old no.113/New no.244) to Jai Singh that informed him that his *mansab* had increased-

'Informing him that His Majesty has been pleased to confer upon him the *Mansab* of *Hafi-Hazari* i.e., 7,000 personal and 7,000 *Sawar* in lieu of the meritorious services rendered by him in the conquest of Monghyer.'[48]

Appendix – F: *Nishan* (9th Shaban, 1068 A.H. / 2nd May 1658 A.D.) issued by Dara Shukoh to Raja Jai Singh

Source: *FFPMBRS*,Vol.III, pp.197

[47]Ma'soum,*Tarikh-E Shah Shuja'I*, op.cit., pp.83, 84-85, J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.II, p.294,
[48]*FFPMBRS*, Vol.III, op.cit., pp.197-198, *DLFMN*, p.38, Appendix-F.

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After signing the treaty of Munghyr, ShahJahan recalled Raja Jai Singh to Agra, but he did not taken decision and he stayed in Surajgarh near Munghyr. Shahjahan continuously wrote *Farmans* to Raja Jai Singh and Dara wrote letters to him. Shahjahan and Dara had only support and hope from Raja Jai Singh, Dara wrote to Raja Jai Singh-

"In these days the Emperor frequently recalls you, and says 'Today the Rajah is my chief general and in battle the greatest hope of mine work is in him'."[49]

Raja Jai Singh did not compromise with his position and everything was possible at that time. He was a great politician and he had taken decision of his own choice. When he went against Shah Shuja, he left his son Ram Singh at the court, he should directly report to him the instructions of Shahjahan.[50] Qanungo has written totally against Raja Jai Singh, he has criticised his role at every step. He says that, 'Jai Singh, who was a traitor at heart.'[51]

On the 13Jamada'-Akhir, 1608 A.H/ 7th May 1658, Murad and his army had set out from Ahmadabad towards Malwa, where he had secretly alliance with his brother Aurangzeb against his elder brother Dara Shukoh.[52]

Raja Jai Singh did not like Dara's warfare policies. He did not play any role in two important battles (Battle of Dharmat, Battle of Samugarh) of war of succession.

Battle of Dharmat 21st of Rajab 1068/ 24 April 1658

On the 25th Jamada-ul-Awwal II 1068 A.H.\ 30 March 1658 A.D., Aurangzeb had arrived at Burhanpur. He had been making the strategy of war against Dara's army. Murad and his troops joined the Aurangzeb's army and advanced towards the village of Dharmat fourteen miles from Ujjain.[53]

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[49]K.R. Qanungo, Prince Dara Shukoh and Mirza Raja Jai Singh, *I.H.R.C*, op.cit.,p.90.
[50] K.R. Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, op.cit, p.168.
[51]Ibid, p.177.
[52]Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit, p.548, Abul Fateh Qabul Khan, *Adab –i-Alamgiri*, Vol.I, tr.& ed. Sadiq Mudlbi Anbalwi, Abdul Gafur Choudhry, Lahore, 1971, pp.373-376, *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri*, ff.16a-16b.
[53]Ishwardas Nagar, *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri*, op.cit, f.16b,Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, p.549, Saqi Musta'idd Khan, *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 4-5 (*Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* called Dharmatpur of Dharmat), Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II, p.13, *Marwar under Jaswant Singh (Jodhpur Hukumat Ri Bahi)*, ed. Satish Chandra, Meerut, 1976, pp.6-7, C.S.W. Haig, *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol.IV, ed. Sir Richard Burn, New Delhi, 1963, p.212.

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On the 21st of Rajab 1068 A.H. / 24 April 1658 A.D., Dara sent army against Murad and Aurangzeb under the leadership of Jaswant Singh and Qasim Khan with the royal artillery and large number of horses and huge army. Jaswant Singh had no idea that these brothers were united. Imperial army were in the fortress of Dhar when they faced the enticing forces of two brothers, who took to fight and joined Jaswant Singh.[54]

Aurangzeb sent a message with the hand of Kab Brahman to Jaswant Singh, "My desire is to visit my Hazrat Wali [Shahjahan]. I have no desire for war it is therefore desirable that you should either accompany me, or keep away from my route, so that no conflict may arise, or blood be shed." Jaswant Singh did not accept this proposal.[55]

Next day Imperial army started war against Murad and Aurangzeb. Jaswant Singh attacked army of brothers. Murad's army was failing. As soon as Aurangzeb was appeared on the opposite bank of Narbada. After this, Jaswant Singh returned to Ujjain. Aurangzeb had given advice to Jaswant Singh that he should withdraw from battle and allow the army of Aurangzeb to continue its advance towards Agra. Jaswant Singh did not agree with Aurangzeb. Jaswant Singh fought bravely from day to night. Imperial army was disorganised and they were unskilfully direct. Princes's army attacked from around, Aurangzeb from the front, Murad from the left and Saf Shikan Khan from the right. Imperial army could do nothing.[56] The forces of Dara suffered a severe defeat.

Dara did not give a clear instruction to Jaswant Singh as how to handle this difficult situation because two princesses have combined army were superior in comparison to army of Dara. Although Jaswant Singh was a mere noble, to fight against princes tied with blood relation.

Meanwhile, Dara made a serious mistake.Over confident of the strength of his position, he had assigned the charge for the eastern campaign some of his best troops.

[54]Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II, op.cit, p.13.
[55]Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II,op.cit., Kab was a famous Hindi poet.
[56]Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*,p.550, J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.II, pp.237-238, Poole, p.35, Haig, *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol.IV, p.212, Sujan Rai Bhandari, *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, pp.493-494.

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When the news of Jaswant Singh's defeat at Dharmat, reached Raja Jai Singh was at Surajgarh.[57].

After defeat of Dharmat, Shahjahan and Dara Shikoh sent repeated *Farmans* and letters to Raja Jai Singh, Who had retired to Kora near Allahabad.

Shahjahan had written *Farman* (2 Shaban, 1068 A.H. \ 25th April 1658 Old no.109/ New no.87) to Raja Jai Singh -

'Informing him that both the Princes (Aurangzeb and Murad) have joined together in the neighbourhood of Ujjain and have defeated the royal army. The Maharaja (Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur) and Qasim Khan both were wounded. Desires him to call upon his Majesty as early as possible so that some scheme may be devised to face them.'[58]

Appendix –G: *Farman* (2nd Shaban, 1068 A.H. / 25th April 1658 A.D.) issued by Shahjahan to Raja Jai Singh

Source: *FFPMBRS*, Vol.II, p.19

[57]K.R. Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, op.cit, p.176.
[58]*FFPMBRS*, Vol.II,op.cit., p.20, *DLFMN*, p.14, Appendix G, we have also found this information in *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, Vol.II, pp.1026-1027.

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Battle of Samugarh

After the defeat at the battle of Dharmat, Dara collected his army and made a new strategy of war against his younger brothers at Samugarh. Shahjahan opened the door of imperial treasury, he advised Dara on military affairs and ordered Raja Jai Singh to come very soon.[59]

This battle would decide the next emperor of Mughal Empire.[60] It was hot season of climate and brothers. Khafi Khan expressed following words-

"روز دیگر چون خسرو زرین کلاه آفتاب باتیغ عالمگیر از مطلع مشرق درخشان و نمایان گردید و پادشاه انجم سپاه سر از دریچهٔ افق بر آورد."[61]

On 16 Shaban, 1068 A.H. /9th May 1658 A.D., Dara raised a large number of army, he sent Khalil Ullah Khan to guard Dholpur and the fords of river Chambal. Dara waited for his son Sulaiman Shukoh[62] and Raja Jai Singh. Aurangzeb learned that Dara had posted strong guard at the fords of river Chambal, but he succeeded overcoming this difficulty through Champat Rai Bundela, who was the honour of a place at about forty miles east of Dholpur, this place was on obscure and out of the way ford with only knee-deep water. Aurangzeb with his soldiers crossed the river.[63]

On 7thRamazan, 1068 / 8th June 1658, a number of army of Dara was 60,000 and he arranged position of his army against enemies at Samugarh. Dara had given the charge of right wing to Rajput troopers under Rao Satr Sal, Rajput troopers were backbone of imperial army. He was commander of central and his son Sipir Shikoh was the commander of left wing.[64] Moreover, on other side Aurangzeb had taken the charge of centre with ten thousand soldiers.[65] Murad Bakhsh and his commanders as

[59]Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, op.cit, p.179.
[60]Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II, op.cit., p.22, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, p.551.
[61]Ibid, Vol.II, p.23 Khafi Khan says that "When the sun, the might monarch of the golden crowns, with his world- conquering sword, rose bright and refulgent from his orient rising place ; and when the king of the starry host put his head out of the window of the horizon." Elliot & Dowson, *The History of India as told by its own historians*, Vol.VI, New Delhi, 2001, p.221.
[62]Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, op.cit, Vol.I, p.85.
[63]Manucci, *Storioa Do Mogor*, Vol.I, op.cit., p.260, J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, pp.373-374.
[64]Kazim Khan, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.I, op.cit., p.95,Sujan Rai Bhandari, *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, p.502, Aqil Khan, *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, p.58.
[65]Aqil Khan, *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, op.cit, p.58.

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Sayyid Zafr Khan, Sayyid Bahadur, Njabat Khan appointed right wing, left wing was commanded by Sultan Muhammad.[66]

Rustam Khan attacked on left wing of Aurangzeb, columns of Muhammad Sultan in the first attack, a bullet from the enemy's own guns struck at Rustam Khan's elephant. The elephant was dead at the battlefield. He withdrew from his advanced side.[67]Largely composed group of Rajputs (Rup Singh Rathore, Rao Satar Sal) attacked on Murad's elephant.[68] Khalilullah had made a secret agreement with Aurangzeb, who was spectacular first traitor of Samugarh battle, he had given wrong instructions to Dara, and he too listened.

Khalilullah Khan had chosen to stay in reserve and had looked on thirty thousand Mughal troops without moving a finger in the fight.[69] Zulfiqar Khan, Murtaza Khan, Bahadur Khan and Mohammad Sadiq were the commanders of Aurangzeb's vanguard, he attacked on centre of Dara with tremendous strength and bravery. This battlefield was so hot that officers and soldiers of Dara's army suffered due to the excessive heat.[70]

At that time Dara had taken a wrong step, he moved right wing of Aurangzeb in order to support Rustam Khan. Then imperial army was urrounded by Aurangzeb's right wing. Dara escaped with some of his followers in order to save his own life. He was missing in Howdah of his elephant and everything was left in confusion. Imperial army thought that Dara had been killing in battlefield.[71] After this defeat, Dara left Agra and shifted along with his family in Delhi.[72]

Alamgirnama gives reasons about Dara's defeat in Samugarh battle thus, "Dara who was ignorant of the rules of war and lacked experience in command,

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[66]Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*,Vol.II, op.cit., p.23, Aqil Khan, *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, pp.58-59, Sujan Rai Bhandari, *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, pp.501-502.
[67]Ibid, Sujan Rai Bhandari, *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, p.503.
[68]Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II, op.cit., P.26, Aqil Khan, *Waqiat- i-Alamgiri*, p.62.
[69]Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit., p.551, Aqil Khan, *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, pp.62-63, Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.I, p.95, S.L. Poole, p.42 see alsoWaldemar Hansen, *The Peacock Throne The drama of Mughal India*, Delhi, 1972, p.247.
[70]Aqil Khan, *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, op.cit., p.63, Sujan Rai Bhandari ,*Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, (Sujan Rai Bhandari has given full detail about Rajput troopers in this battle), p.505.
[71]Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit., p.552, Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II, pp.28-29, Haig,*The Cambridge History of India*Vol.IV, p.214, J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.II, 247.
[72]Saqi Musta'iid Khan, *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, op.cit., p.8.

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foolishly hastened with the centre and in the advance reserve in person, after the charge of Rustam Khan, and placed his own van and artillery behind himself."[73]

Dara wanted an alliance with Shah Shuja after his defeat. He had written a letter to Shah Shuja in Bengal, with the proposal of alliance that if Aurangzeb would be defeated the Mughal Empire would be divided between them.[74]

After defeat of battle of Samugarh, Shahjahan wrote a letter to Sulaiman Shukoh in order to join his father at Delhi. This news reached Sulaiman Shukoh'ssoldiers, they were distracted or openly hostile to the fallen cause.[75] The road of Delhi from Munghyr was so long and would soon be blocked by army of Aurangzeb. Sulaiman was surprised by this situation and he could not understand what to do. Then Sulaiman had to take advice from Raja Jai Singh. He advised him to choose from two ways one was to go to Delhi and second was to fall back to Allahabad and he waited for news of his of his father.[76]

Shahjahan and Dara continuously called Raja Jai Singh to return to Delhi but he did not come to Delhi. He did not reply their letters. Some important nobles joined the service of Aurangzeb. He had taken the decision according to requirement.[77]

Aurangzeb issued *Nishans* and *Manshur* to Jai Singh. Undated *Nishan* (old no.28/New no.258) of Aurangzeb addressed to Raja Jai Singh-

'We [Aurangzeb] complained about long silence of Raja Jai Singh. Totally believed this has not happened without any reason and we would not release any *Nishans* to you for its reason. *In Shaa Allah* now very soon we will went in the service of Emperor.'[78]

Aurangzeb's *Manshur* (Old no.124/New no.145) to Raja Jai Singh dated 9th Ramazan, 1068 A.H. / 31 May 1658 A.D., is preserved in Art Gallery of Rajasthan State Archive of Bikaner. This *Manshur* is important for Aurangzeb strategy against Dara. He explained his victory on Dara Shukoh in two battles. In addition, he

[73]Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.I, op.cit., pp.98-99.
[74]Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit., p.555.
[75]Salih Kambo, *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol.III, op.cit., pp.313-314, Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, p.121.
[76]Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.I, op.cit., pp.168-169, Kazim said that Raja Jai Singh had given the ill advice to Sulaiman Shukoh, J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*,Vol.II, p.222,Abul Fateh Qabul Khan *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, Vol.II, p.1035.
[77]Kazim, *Alamgirnama*,Vol.I, p.170, Sujan Rai Bhandari, *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, p.514.
[78]*DLFMN*, op.cit., p.40, *FFPMBRS*, Vol.III, pp.233-234.

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informed the condition of Dara's men. His advised him to join his service to Jai Singh. He appreciated his service to Mughal Empire. Jai Singh would receive highest robe of honour after joining. Other side he gave indirect warning to him.[79]

Aurangzeb presented his proposal to Shahjahan for replacement of some officers to enter Agra fort. Emperor agreed to this proposal. Aurangzeb's officers were Sultan Muhammad, Zulfiqar Khan and Shaikh Bahadur Khan who entered Agra fort. They took possession of all gates and bastions and placed their men in charge of them.[80]

Appendix – H: *Manshur* (dated 9th Ramazan, 1068 A.H. / 31st May, 1658 A.D.) issued by Aurangzeb to Raja Jai Singh

Source: *FFPMBRS*, Vol.II, p.169

Aurangzeb issued a *Manshur* (30th Ramazan, 1068 A.D./21st June, 1658 A.D., old no.128/ new no.149) to Jai Singh. Aurangzeb once again showed weakness of Dara. He gave proposal to Jai Singh that he would join his service at Mathura-

[79] Art Gallery of Rajasthan State Archive of Bikaner, Bikaner, *FFPMBRS*, Vol.II, pp.169-171, Appendix-H.
[80] Aqil Khan, *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, op.cit., p.76.

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'Informing him that Dara Shukoh on hearing of his arrival at the capital fled to Lahore. Says that he (Aurangzeb) has been informed by an *arzdasht* of Sulaiman Shikoh addressed to His Majesty (Shahjahan) that his father's forces have almost dispersed and he is leaving his family at Allahabad, and wants to meet his father. Expresses his pleasure over the Maharaja's keeping himself aloof from politics. He desires him to wait on him at Mathura. Says that this *Farman* sent with Allhyar Mir Tuzuk will be sent with him (Maharaja) up to Mathura.'[81]

Appendix –I: *Manshur* (dated 30th Ramazan, 1068 A.H. / 21st June, 1658 A.D.) issued by Aurangzeb to Raja Jai Singh

Source: *FFPMBRS*, Vol.II, p.181

Mirza Raja Jai Singh Joined the service of Aurangzeb

On 1st Zil-Qada 1068 / 31st July 1658 A.D., Aurangzeb assumed the throne and with the title of *Alamgir* or Seizer of the universe (*Badshahzada Muhamad Aurangzeb*

[81] *FFPMBRS*, Vol.II, p.181-182, *DLFMN*, p.25.Appendix, I.

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Bahadur Ba Far Sulaimani wa shaukat Sahab Qirani) in A'izzabad garden in the palaces of Delhi fort.[82]

Aurangzeb knew well that if he got trust and support of powerful nobles at the Mughal court, he could get success.[83] Then Aurangzeb decided that he meet Raja Jai Singh after return from Multan to Lahore.[84]

When Aurangzeb saw Raja Jai Singh, he had only five horsemen because Aurangzeb knew that Raja Jai Singh had great affection for Shahjahan. Everything was possible Aurangzeb could lose his life. Raja Jai Singh wanted to support Aurangzeb not Dara in war of succession. Aurangzeb used very impressive words to Jai Singh.[85] Aurangzeb said to Raja Jai Singh-

'I am waiting with great anxiety to see you, as I have already stated in my letter to you. I have great regard for your person, because I can find no other friend with sense and judgement like you, so full of experience and natural ability, which can help me in the great enterprise that it has pleased God to lay upon me. Already Dara has lost and is without an army, and I have sent after the fugitive Bahadur Khan, who cannot fail in brief space to bring him before me in chains. Thus, helped by your wisdom and prudence, I shall easily be able to complete what God has purposed'. Aurangzeb had given the province of Sambhar as a gift to Raja Jai Singh.'[86]

He could not take the decision that if he left emperor and Dara Shikoh it was cheating to Shahjahan. At this stage, He had to return from Bihar after expedition against Shuja. This situation was very difficult to him that on 25th Zil-Qada, 1068 A.H. / 24 August 1658 A.D., he took wise step and he joined the service of Aurangzeb near Mathura with his Rajput troops.[87]

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[82] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit.,p.555, Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II, p.40.

[83] Manucci, *Storioa Do Mogor*, Vol.I, op.cit., p.304, Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire 1656-1668*, p.71.

[84] Ibid, Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire 1656-1668*, p.72, Manucci gave a detail about this meeting.

[85] Ibid, p.305.

[86] Ibid, Vol.I, 305-306, Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire 1656-1668*, pp.72-73, Manucci and Bernier has only given the story of the meeting between Aurangzeb and Raja Jai Singh, But we do not find such information in contemporary sources. Travellers account did not give chronological detail about the events. *Manshurs* gives information that Aurangzeb tried to convince Jai Singh. He would join his service.

[87] Bhimsen, *Tarikh-i-Dilkasha*, op.cit, f.17b, Ishwardas Nagar, *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri*, f.28b, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, p.555, Shyamaldas, *Vir Vinod*, p.1291, Shahnawaz Khan, *Ma'asir-ulUmara*, Vol.III, ed. Maulvi Mirza Ashraf Ali, Calcutta, 1891, p.575.

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Qanungo has criticised his step and he says that, "Mirza Rajah now threw off his mask and prepared to march away to Agra leaving poor Sulaiman to his fate. This desertion of the Kachhwaha Chief might have been excused as an act prompted by the instinct of self-preservation, had he not exerted himself shamefully to seduce others also from loyalty to the unfortunate Dara."[88]

Raja Jai Singh's message to Jaswant Singh 1069 AH\ 1659 A.D.

Aurangzeb gave responsibility to Raja Jai Singh that he convinces Jaswant Singh to join the service of Aurangzeb.

On 1st Jumada-ul Awwal, 1069 A.H. / 25thJanuary 1659 A.D., Raja Jai Singh convinced Jaswant Singh that he should accept the sovereignty of new emperor[89].

"The only result of the crime you have committed will be the ruin of your kingdom and the desolation of your territory. Good fortune has turned away its face from Dara Shukoh, and adversity and evil fate are in store for him. Your joining that unfortunate (Prince) after your great crime is courting destruction. If you have any sense and reason, and wish to maintain your kingdom and status, there can be no better means for obtaining forgiveness for your past sins than that you should refrain from the ruinous design of joining Dara Shukoh and repenting of your past, turn to the forgiving court of His Imperial Majesty."[90]

Dara on his reassurance marched from Gujarat and arrived at village Deorai near Ajmer. On the 26th of Jumada II, 1069\21st March 1659, Aurangzeb and his army entered the valley from the southeast and halted about one mile from Dara Shukoh's entrenchments. The imperial generals had taken decision to attack Dara's trenches as impregnable.[91]"As the lines were strongly fortified and ensconced in inaccessible hills, the efforts of imperialists to capture them did not succeed." Imperial general planned an attack on the strength of Shahnawaz's trenches.[92]

Raja Raj Rup of the Jammu hill was serving under Aurangzeb. His Rajput followers had discovered a path by which the back of Gokla hill could be scale.[93]Raja

[88]K.R. Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, Vol.I,op.cit., p.117, it seems that Jai Singh observed the situation. He had good sense and his decision was required for the situation.
[89]Saqi Musta'idd Khan, *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, op.cit, p.19, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, p.557, Salih Kambo, *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol.III, pp.326-327, *Hukumat Ri Bahi*, p.37, Ma'soum, *Tarikh-E Shah Shuja'I*, p.136.
[90]Aqil Khan, *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, op.cit, p.113.
[91]Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit.,p.558, J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.II, pp.173-174.
[92]Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.I, p.319, Aqil Khan, *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, p.88.
[93]Salih Kambo, *Amal-i-Salih*, op.cit, Vol.III, pp.317-318.

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Rup approached side of Dara through an indirect route over one of the hills. Imperial general surrounded the way of Dara. Diler Khan and his Afghan supports appointed right wing of the artillery. Shaikh Mir from behind side, they turned the guns to right, and Raja Jai Singh with his vanguard all flocked to this point to the support of the fighters.[94]

Diler Khan attacked the lines held by Shah Nawaz Khan. Khafi Khan says that, " Pride and shame so worked upon Shah Nawaz, that he gave up all the hope of surviving, and died fighting most courageously."[95]

During this ensuing fight Dara's generals Shah Nawaz and others menwere killed. Dara fore saw the defeat of his army. He fled with Sipihar Shukoh, Firoz Mewati, his harem and some jewels and money towards Ahmedabad.[96]

Aurangzeb appointed Raja Jai Singh to Pursuit of Dara

After the victory of Deorai, Aurangzeb appointed Raja Jai Singh to set out in pursuit of Dara Shukoh.[97] Dara Shukoh had only 2,000 troopers and one faithful general Firoz Mewati arrived within a distance of some twenty-four kilometres north of Ahmadabad.[98] Bernier explained the condition of Dara's army, "Sight of death men, elephants, oxen, horses and camels the wrecks of poor Dara's army."[99]

Raja Jai Singh and Bahadur Khan with 20,000 troopers were sent against Dara. Flight of Dara had been fast and his scattered army took many directions. A rumour arose that he had turned northeast towards Sambhar. However, when imperial army under Raja Jai Singh reached Mairta, they knew the truth. His enemies closed way for Dara.[100] At that time, Aurangzeb wrote a letter to Jaswant Singh to join Raja

[94] Khafi Khan, *Muntakha-Al-Lubab*,Vol.II, op.cit., pp. 67-68, J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.II, pp177-178.
[95] Khafi Khan, *Muntakha-Al-Lubab*,Vol.II,op.cit., p.70.
[96] Ibid.,Vol.II, p.72, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, p.558.
[97] Aqil Khan, *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, op.cit., p.19, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, p.558, Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, pp.321-322, Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II, p.84, Persian and European sources described difficult journey of Dara Sukoh according to their prospective.
[98] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit., p.559, J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.II, p.190, Saqi Musta'idd Khan, *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, pp.21-22, Ma'soum, *Tarikh-E ShahShuja-I*, p.163.
[99] Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire 1656-1668*, op.cit, pp.82-92.
[100] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit., p.559, J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.II, p.191, K.R. Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, Vol.I, p.214,Aqil Khan, *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, p.120, Abul Fateh Qabul Khan, *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, Vol.II, p.1094, this source gives information of Jai Singh's military activities against Dara Shukoh, pp.1093-1094.

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Jai Singh in marched towards Gujarat but Jaswant Singh received this letter after three days, Dara had left Jodhpur.[101]

Front side of Dara, Aurangzeb sent Khalilullah Khan (governor of Punjab) to march down from Multan to Bhakkar. Raja Jai Singh was behind Dara, he also gave an order to the imperial officers in Lower Sindh to be aware.[102] Local officers and Raja Jai Singh's advanced detachments were converging on the prey from north, east and southeast. He reached Mairta and was joined by Jaswant Singh and his Rathore army on the way of Jalor, and then, "in order not to allow Dara time to gain composure at Ahmadabad."[103]

Raja Jai Singh had adopted the policy of communication with princes and *zamindars* in every path of Dara's journey. He had written letters to the princes and *zamindars* of Lower Sindh and to the officers of the territory of Gujarat. Therefore, he raised the enemies of Dara everywhere. This situation was totally against Dara.[104]

On 5th Rajab 1069\ 29 March 1659, Dara reached Bhuj, the capital of Cutch. Raja Jai Singh's letters had reached even here, he found that his well-wishers changed. However, Dara crossed Sindh.[105] Dara's governor Sayyid Ahmad Bukhari was arrested by the local civil and military officers of Gujarat.[106]

On 5th April, imperial army learned that Dara had refused entrance into Ahmadabad. However, the letters of Raja Jai Singh already dispatched to the princes of Northern Kathiawar. He and his army were suffering from scarcity of water and halting places from Sidhpur to Ahmadabad.[107]

Sarkar states that, "Raja Jai Singh distributed 2 lakhs of rupees from the treasury to his troops to enable them to provide themselves with enough water and fodder for the journey and on the 12th set out again."[108]

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[101] J.N Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.II,op.cit., p.192, K.R. Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, Vol.I, p.214.
[102] Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.I.p.184, Sujan Rai Bhandari, *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, p.522, J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.II, p.194.
[103] Uday Raj, *Haft Anjumann*, Paris, ff.94b-101b as cited by *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.II, pp.192-193.
[104] J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.II, op.cit., p.192.
[105] Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, op.cit., pp.414-415, Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire 1656-1668*, pp.89-91, *Haft Anjumann*, ff.97a-100b as cited by *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.II, p.193, Ishwardas Nagar ,*Futuhat-i-Alamgiri*, f.44a, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, p.559.
[106] K.R. Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, Vol.I, op.cit., pp.215-216.
[107] J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.II, op.cit., p.196-197.
[108] Ibid. p.197, Persian sources do not discuss the difficulties of Raja Jai Singh on his way during the time to his pursuit of Dara. Sarkar has based on *Haft Anjumann* in his book *History of Aurangzeb*, he had discussed the difficulties of Raja Jai Singh.

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Rao had given information about Raja Jai Singh that Dara was not in his territory (Cutch), but Raja Jai Singh did not believe Rao and he halted there to learn the truth and soon got news from the Mughal officer of Badin that Dara had reached lower Sindh. At this time, Dara had only 500 troopers.[109] In 6th June 1659, Nadira Banu Begum lovely wife of Dara, died from exhaustion and dysentery. After his wife died, Dara did not take the right decision in self-defence.[110]

Before Mughal army reached the Rann they had faced many problems lack of food had been added to the long familiar water famine. "At other places no food at all could be procured."[111] His transport animals (horses, camels and oxen) had been exterminating. The imperial army had been reaching the Southern court of Sindh. "Finish, finish," said he [Dara], "ungrateful and infamous wretch that thou art, finish that which thou hast commenced; we are the victims of evil fortune and the unjust passion of Aurangzib, but remember that I do not merit death except for having saved thy life, and remember that a prince of the royal blood never had his hands tied behind his back."[112]

When Raja Jai Singh reached Indus near the river of Swistan, here he received the news Dara had crossed over to the right bank of Indus and he entered Siwistan with the help of the Maghasi tribe. He wrote a letter to Aurangzeb, "When appointed to this service, Your Majesty had told me that as longer as Dara was not captured or killed, or did not quit the empire; I should not withdraw my hand from him. I have left no means untried to accomplish the first two alternatives. I have, at no place, however hard and difficult to traverse, taken thought of scarcity of water and grain or of the predominance of lawless men. But God ordains everything, and so the third alternative has come to pass. As Your Majesty has now been freed from the mischief of that (enemy), I beg to submit that, in view of the extreme privations borne by the army and the weakness of the horses and transport cattle, which have not strength enough to move more than six or eight miles a day,- I should be recalled to Court."[113]

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[109] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahanmama*, op.cit., p.559, J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.II, p.198.
[110] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahanmama*, op.cit., p.559, J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.II pp.106-107, K.R. Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, Vol.I, p.223.
[111] Udai Raj, *Haft Anjumann*, op.cit., ff.103b-104a as cited by *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.II, p.201.
[112] J.B. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, Vol.I, tr. French V. Ball, New York, 1889, p.351.
[113] Udai Raj, *Haft Anjumann*, op.cit.,f.105a-b-106a, as cited by *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.II, p.202, Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, p.433.

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Aurangzeb gave the instructions to Raja Jai Singh in this *Farman* (11 Shawwal 1069\ 22nd June 1659, Old No.143/New no.99) –

'It is reported by Khalil-Ullah Khan that Dara Shukoh has left Bhakkar for Qandahar on hearing intelligence of the Khan's arrival. You are return to Amer with your force. In addition, to depute two reliable men sent to Bhakker. The news sent of where about of Dara Shukoh. Pardons the faults of Kunwar Ram Singh he has committed in leaving the Prince (Mohd. Sultan) alone in Bengal".[114]

Manucci asserts that Raja Jai Singh deliberately carried on a slack pursuit in order to leave Dara time to escape to Persia. There is nothing improbable in this suspicion, as an old general of Shahjahan, whether Indian Muslim or Rajput, could have willingly consented to bring about the capture of his eldest son, since all knew that if they did it the result would be his murder by his victorious rival. However, "I [Manucci] can find no semblance of slackness in the pursuit that is not satisfactorily accounted for by the utter exhaustion of the troops and loss of transport, so graphically described in Raja Jai Singh's letters to his master."[115]

On 19 Ramazan, 1069 A.H. / 9th June 1659 A.H., Dara started the march into Bolan Pass but he wanted to try once again his destiny in this place. However, unluckily a treacherous Afghan host Malik Jiwan made him a prisoner. Malik Jiwan sent servants and handed him over to the camp of Raja Jai Singh and Bahadur Khan. Dara Shukoh was arrested and brought to Agra fort.[116] During the pursuit of Dara through Gujarat, Raja Jai Singh played vital role as a military genius with energy and forethought.[117]

After the arrest of Dara, Aurangzeb issued a *Farman* 13 Zi-l-Hijja 1069\ 22nd August 1659, Old no.144/ New no. 100) to Raja Jai Singh for acknowledging of his services against Dara-

'Thanking him for capturing Dara Shukho and relieving His Majesty from a great danger, says that he does not know how to repay the Maharaja for his services.'[118]

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[114] *FFPMBPS*, Vol.II, op.cit., p.48, *DLFMN*, p.16..
[115] Manucci, *Storioa do Mogor*, Vol.I, op.cit., pp.328-329.
[116] Sadiq Khan, *Tarikh-i-Shahjahani wa Aurangzeb*, ff.112a-b, Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II, pp.83-84, Kazim, *Alamgirinama*, pp.433-434, J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.II p.209, Saqi Mausta'idd Khan, *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, p.27, Ma'soum,*Tarikh-E Shah Shuja'I*, p.166.
[117] K.R. Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, Vol.II, op.cit., p.214.
[118] *FFPMBPS*, Vol.II, op.cit., p.50, *DLFMN*, p.16

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Raja Jai Singh received honour and reward at Mughal court

A long tenure of Raja Jai Singh's career was spent in war of succession. On 2nd September 1659 A.D., he returned to Delhi and he received a robe of honour a jewelled fishtail ornament, an elephant from royal stables adorned with silver *howda* and gold embroidered housing, a female elephant and two hundred good horses from new emperor Aurangzeb.[119] On 10 November 1659, Raja Jai Singh received a reward of one lakh of rupees in cash.[120]

After the death of Dara, Aurangzeb turned against his next enemy Sulaiman Shukoh, he had taken cover in the forest of Sri Nagar with the help of Prithvi Singh the *Zamindar* of Srinagar.[121] This situation was very difficult to Sulaiman, he lost his father, troopers and had nothing in his hand. Aurangzeb sent Raja Rup Singh to Hardwar to arrest Sulaiman.[122]

Aurangzeb had a choice to track scheming Hindu Princes. Raja Jai Singh wrote a letter to Prithvi Singh professing his own extreme sorrow at the impending ruin of the Hindu ruler like him and pressing him to give up Sulaiman as the only means of saving himself from imperial punishment.[123]

Prithvi Singh wrote a letter to Raja Jai Singh, begging forgiveness for his offences, and offering to give up Sulaiman Shukoh. Mannuci gives information about the letter of Prithvi Singh that-

"He was thankful for Raja Jai Singh's friendship, as for Aurangzeb, he headed neither his promises nor for his menaces. He might inform the Mughal that he had no respect for either his power or his victories.....Most of these issued from the said mountains without noses, the rest losing their lives. Further, let him known that he who could cut off noses could equally cut of heads."[124] Aurangzeb heard this news and he gave an order to Raja Jai Singh that if the king of Srinagar neglected his orders they might pay war against the king. But Medini Singh, who was

[119] Aqil Khan, *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, op.cit., p.27, J.N. Sarkar, *History of Jaipur*, p.120.
[120] Aqil Khan, *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, op.cit., p.28, Saqi Musta'idd Khan, *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, p.27, J.N. Sarkar, *History of Jaipur*, p.121.
[121] Sadiq Khan, *Tarikh-i-Shahjahani wa Aurangzeb*, op.cit., f.121a, Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.I, p.600, Ma'soum, *Tarikh-E ShahShuja'I*, pp.175-176.
[122] Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II, op.cit., pp.41-42.
[123] Saqi Musta'idd Khan, *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, op.cit., pp.26-27, Salih Kambo, *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol.III, pp.338-339, Manucci, *Storio Do Mogol*, Vol.I, p.358.
[124] Manucci, *Storioa Do Mogor*, pp.358-359.

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the son of Prithvi Singh, decided to give Sulaiman Shukoh up to the Mughals. He replied to Raja Jai Singh with a promise to obey the imperial order.[125]

On the 19th of Rabi II 1070 A.H.\ 22nd December 1660, Kunwar Ram Singh, who was the son of Raja Jai Singh was sent to bring Sulaiman Shukoh.[126] He tried to run away from snow to Ladak and when pursued by the Garhwal troops he offered battle.[127] He was brought to the fort of Salimgarh at Delhi.[128] Sulaiman was brought to Gwaliar fort from Salimgarh fort to lock up in the Gwalior fort along with his uncle Murad Bakhsh.[129] Murad Bakhsh, who had also been there, attempted to escape, and was in consequence executed in December 1661.[130] Sulaiman Shukoh died in 1662.[131] Aurangzeb gives one elephant, two horses and five thousand rupees to Medini Singh.[132]

Aurangzeb had to meet his next enemy Shah Shuja, he was admirable deputy to Prince Muhammad Sultan with Mu'azzam Khan, who came from Deccan and joined him. They defeated Shuja, in spite of the support he received from the Portuguese of Hugli and the treachery of Jaswant Singh who put imperial camp in confusion by endeavouring to desert his old friend Shuja the night before the battle. Imperial army could not capture Shuja, he went from Bengal to Arakan.[133]He repented it in prison until he died in 1676.[134]

After the above discussion on war of succession, we find that Raja Jai Singh played an admirable role in this war. He emerged as a politician. He followed the instruction of Shahjahan in the starting of war. But after the two decisive battles Dharmat and Samugarh, he was silent. Shahjahan and Dara Shukoh recalled him but

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[125]Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.I,op.cit., p.601. J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.II, pp. 348-349.
[126]Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II,op.cit., p.123, Inayat Khan, *Shahjhannama*, p.561, Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.I, p.601.
[127]Aqil Khan, *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, op.cit., p.105,Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.I pp.600-602, Manucci, *Storioa do Mogor*, Vol.I, pp.378-380.
[128]Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, op.cit, Vol.I, pp.602-603, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, p.561, Manucci, *Storioa do Mogor*, Vol.I, pp.359-360.
[129]Salih Kambo, *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol.III, p.340, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, p.561, Tavernier, *Travels in India*, Vol.I, p.367, Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, pp.602-603.
[130] Ibid.
[131]Kazim, *Alamginama*, Vol.I, op.cit., p.603, Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire 1656-1668*, p.107, Manucci, *Storioa do Mogor*, Vol.I, p. 380.
[132]Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, op.cit., p.604.
[133]Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit., p.563, Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*,Vol.II, pp.91-97, Ma'soum, *Tarikh-E Shah Shuja'I*, pp.182-183, Tevernier, *Travels in India*, Vol.I, p.69-70.
[134]Ma'soum, *Tarikh-E Shah Shuja'I*, op.cit., pp.185-186, S.L. Poole, *Medieval India under Mohammedan Rule712-1764*, New York, 1903, 357.

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he did not reply. Aurangzeb offered Raja Jai Singh to join his service. It was an excellent opportunity to Jai Singh.

Raja Jai Singh and Dara Shukoh's relations were complicated, their relations had ups and down according to situations. Differences rose between them after the third battle of Qandahar. Dara insulted Raja Jai Singh during third battle of Qandahar, Dara said that Raja Jai Singh looked like a musician. An occupation looked down in India, because all such men act the part of buffoons. Raja Jai Singh submitted to the insult received from Dara, but he could do nothing. Only he waited for right time when Dara would need him. He was a very powerful noble and he had forty thousand horsemen and one hundred and fifty thousand infantry.[135]

Bernier furnishes the anecdote of treachery of Raja Jai Singh against Dara that, "all the efforts of Jesseingue [Raja Jai Singh] to prevent a battle proved abortive..... It is certain that if Jesseingue and his bosom friend Delir-Khan [Dilir Khan], a Patan and on excellent soldier, had not purposely held back, the rout of the enemy would have been complete, and their commander probably made prisoner. But the Raja was too prudent to lay his hands on a Prince of the Blood, the son of his king'. And he acted conformably to the Mogol's intentions when he afforded Sultan Sujah the means of escape".[136]

Raja Jai Singh took decision in his own interest, he observed the situation, he knew that Aurangzeb was great warrior and he never gave up. His relations with Dara were not well, after third campaign of Qandahar. Dara insulted him during the battle. It seems that Raja Jai Singh's strategy was an intellectual step. If he did not take this decision, his career would have finished.

[135] Manucci, *Storia Do Mogol*, Vol.I,op.cit., p.217.
[136] Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire 1656-1668*, pp.35-36.

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CHAPTER- IV:

(A) Mirza Raja Jai Singh- As a Governor of the Deccan

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CHAPTER-IV

Mirza Raja Jai Singh- As a Military Governor of Deccan State

(A) Mirza Raja Jai Singh and Shivaji

On 16 November, 1663 A.D., Raja Jai Singh was appointed governor of Deccan.[1] Before his appointment, Shaista Khan was the governor of Deccan. The following officers were along with his army Jaswant Singh, Rao Bhao Singh, Rao Ram Singh, Raja Rai Singh Sisodia and Asaf Khan with the force of fifty thousand horsemen.[2] In July 1659 (1662), he started the Deccan expedition. He occupied Poona, Baramati. He was able to capture many forts including Chakanah.[3] Shivaji's night attacked on residence of Shaista Khan at Poona. He was not killing but he lost of his forefingers.[4]

Persian sources (*Alamgirnam*, *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri*, *Mumtakhab-ul Lubab*, *Hafi Anjumann)*, Rajasthani Records, British Records (*English Records of Shivaji*, *English Records of factory*), Portuguese records (*Livro dos Actas do conselho do Estado*), Travellers accounts are most important for Jai Singh's campaign against Shivaji.*Hafi Anjumann* is most important source of 17th century, this source gives the information about Jai Singh's Deccan expeditions against Shivaji and Bijapur. Jadunath Sarkar discovered this valuable source in 1905.[5]

Farmans are also most authentic document for this aspect which issued by Aurangzeb to Raja Jai Singh during the campaign against Shivaji. These *Farmans* give information about Aurangzeb's policy against Shivaji. He had given advice to

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[1] Bhimsen, *Nushka-i-Dilkasha*, Rotograph No.43, Seminar library, C.A.S. Department of History A.M.U., Aligarh, f.26 tr. J.N. Sarkar, ed. V.G. Khobrekar, Bombay, 1972, p.41, Shyamaldas, *Vir Vinod*, Vol.II, pt II, Delhi, 1986, pp.1292-1293, Satish Chandra, *History of Medieval India*, New Delhi, 2007, p.357.

[2] Ishwar Das Nagar, *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri*, Rotograph No.42, C.A.S. Department of History, A.M.U., Aligarh, ff.50a-b see also James Grant Duff, *History of the Marathas*, Vol.I, ed. J.P. Guha, New Delhi, 1971, p.102.

[3] See an account of Chakanah in Duff's *History of the Marathas*, Vol.I, p.103, Chakanah place is not a port but it is lies a little North of Poona.

[4] Ibid., Mohammad Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol. II, ed. Khadim Husaini and Abdul Hai, Calcutta, 1868, pp.767-768, Khafi Khan, *Mumtakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II, ed. Maulvi Kabiruddin& Ghulam Qadir, Calcutta, 1870, pp.119,174, Ishwardas Nagr, *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri*, f.51a, This source gave the information that the daughter of Shaista Khan was taken prisoner by Shivaji, Duff, *History of the Marathas*, Vol.I p.104.

[5] J.N. Sarkar, Shivaj & His Time, Calcutta, 1952, p.139, Setumadhavaro S. Pagadi, *Shivaji*, New Delhi, 1983, p.49.

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Raja Jai Singh on every move.[6]Aurangzeb described the victory of Rudramal and Purandar fort in these documents. He had given an order that five big cannons were sent to Raja Jai Singh from royal *TopKhana*.[7]

Main theme of this chapter is Mirza Raja Jai Singh's role as a governor in Deccan state. We have highlighted many aspects on this theme such as he used new tactics of warfare and alliance of Purandar, escape of Shivaji from Agra fort.

In January 1664, Shivaji plundered the city of Surat, it was the richest port of Mughal.[8] It was the serious issue of Mughal prestige and continuous complaints against Mughal officers from Deccan state.[9]

Aurangzeb had well known that at this time there was need for new, energetic and experienced military general to the problems of Deccan. During early years of his reign, he seems to have treated the Rajputs with certain amount of consideration, and in some respects, their position actually improved over.[10]Raja Jai Singh was one of the truthful and experienced holder military governors at that time. He was also favourite of Aurangzeb. Two enemies of Mughal Empire established their roots at Deccan state, one was Shivaji and second was Bijapuris.

He had knowledge of every difficult ways of war and strategy. First time, he was entrusted to handle two difficult tasks. Aurangzeb gave only him command of the field operation. Jai Singh wanted to concentrate all power in his own hands. As that all the authority of administration, promotions, punishment and transfer of officers, payment of troops and *Jagir* regulation to be left in his hands at Aurangabad.[11]

Aurangzeb issued the *Farman* (Old no.94/ New no.103, 19 Rabi-ul Akhir, 1075 A.H/30 October 1664 A.D.) to Jai Singh which *Farman* shows that Aurangzeb gives the order to military men. They should not avoid the orders of Jai Singh. They should follow his instructions-

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[6]*Farasi Farmano ke parkash mai Mughalkalain Bhart evam Rajput Sashak*, Vol.II, Hindi tr. Shujauddin Khan Naqshbndi, ed. Mahendra Khadgawat, Rajasthan State Archive, Bikaner, 2010, pp.61-63, 67-69.

[7]Ibid. p.63.

[8] Panduranga Pissurlencar,*Portuguese and Marathas*, Bombay, 1975, p.152, Duff, *History of the Marathas*, Vol.I, p.152, Father Manual Goolinho says that, "the largest imporium [emporium] of India."

[9]It was the serious issue of Mughal prestige and continuously complaints against Mughal officers from Deccan state.

[10] M.Ather Ali,*The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, New Delhi, 1997, p.23.

[11]G.S. Sardesai, *New History of Marathas*, Vol.I, Bombay, 1971, p.161-162.

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'Imperial army to inform that Mirza Raja Jai Singh who has been appointed to the command of the imperial forces to chastise Shivaji, and to realise *Peshkash* (offering)from Adil Khan of Bijapur, all preparations of this expedition are given to Raja. So everybody needed that you all would help to Raja in this expedition, do not avoid the orders of Jai Singh. You are appointed any work without any argument. These works would complete.'[12]

Appendix –A: *Farman* (19 Rabi-ul-Akhir, 1075/ 30 October 1664 A.D.) issued by Aurangzeb to Raja Jai Singh

Source: *FFPMBRS*, Vol.III, p.53

Jai Singh sent a formidable army Diler Khan Afghan, Daud Khan, Ram Singh Sisodia, Ithisham Khan, Sujan Singh Bundel, Puranmal, Barqandaz Khan and many others, Shaista Khan, pushed Shivaji to the retreat of his best forts.[13]

[12] *FFPMBRS*, Vol.II, op.cit., pp.53-55,*DLFMN*, p.17, seal of this *Farman* shows the titles of Mughal Emperors that Abul Muzafar Muhammad Muhiddin *Alamgir*, Badshah *Gazi Ibn-i*-Shah Jahan, *Badshah Ibn-i*-Jahangir, *Badshah Ibn-i*-Akbar, *Badshah Ibn-i*- Humayun, *Badshah Ibn-i*-Babur, *Badshah Ibn-i*-Umar Shaikh Shah, *Ibn-i*-Sultan Abu Saeed Shah, *Ibn-i*-Sultan Muhammad Shah, *Ibn-i*-Meeran Shah, *Ibn-i*-Amir Timur *Sahib-i-Kiraan. Tugra: Farman* Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Muniuddin Aurangzeb *Alamgir Badshah Gazi*. Appendix-A

[13] Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.II, op.cit., p.868, Nicolao Manucci, *Storioa Do Mogor*, Vol.II, tr.William Irwin, Calcutta, 1965, pp.111-116, Muhammad Saqi Musta'idd Khan, *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, ed. Agha

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He was making required arrangements and collecting his Mughal army, hastened with continuous march and arrived at Aurangabad, here he met Prince Mauzzam and relieved him from viceroyalty. He stayed for some times and then he reached towards Poona and received charge from Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur.[14]He divided his army into four parts. The first section under the command of Diler Khan, Second was under the leadership of Daud Khan, third was under the direction of Saf Shaikan and last army under the command of Qutbbuddin Khan.[15]

Jai Singh had faced four major problems and he had carefully to deal with these problems-

- How to employ every possible device for dealing with enemy?
- How to stay wide awake and full aware of many-sided activity?
- How to handle his troops to cause distraction of the enemy.[16]

Jai Singh wished to avoid the war against Shivaji and Adil Shah of Bijapur at the same time. It was not a wise step. While Aurangzeb want him to strike at both Shivaji and Adil Shah.

He wrote to Aurangzeb for this matter that, "True, it is not very difficult for the victorious Emperor's fortune to conquer both these wretched rulers. But if policy can accomplish a thong, why should we court delay (by resorting to force)? Moreover, "it was not politic enough for the eternal empire to cause the two improvident fellows to raise tumults all at once, thought it was not difficult for the imperial forces to take effective action simultaneously against both these offenders (*tabahikars*)."[17]It was an important decision of Jai Singh to first target Shivaji's submission and then focus on Bijapur.

On 11 Shawwal, 1075 A.H. \ 17 April 1665 A.D., Aurangzeb issued *Farman* to Jai Singh, he gave the instructions about the safety of *Thanas* (which

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Ahmad, Calcutta,1871, pp.48-49, Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II, pp.177-178, Ishwardas Nagar, *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri*, ff.52a-b,Bhimsen, *Nushka-i-Dilkusha*, f.26a, Sir William Foster, *The English Factories in India 1665-1667*, Vol.V, London, 1925, p.76, Bernier, p.190, *English Records on Shivaji*, Poona, 1931,p.330.

[14]Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.II, op.cit., pp.887-888, J.N. Sarkar, *History of Shivaji*, pp.103-104, Maulana Shibli Numani, *Alamgir*, tr. Syed Sabahuddin Abdur Rahman, Delhi,2009, p.11.

[15]Ishwardas Nagar, *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri*, op.cit, f.52a-b.

[16] J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.IV, Calcutta, 1930, p.77.

[17] Munshi Udairāj alias Tāle'yār Khan, *Hafi Anjumann* (Banares Ms. 53b-93b), tr. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, Calcutta, 1969, p.11.

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surrounded Poona) and fresh recruits to Mughal army and increase in their *mansab* in this *Farman*-

'On 16th Ramzaan-ul-Mubark, he had presented *Arzdasht* [1721 V.S.\ 1664-1665 A.D. writer name Mukand and Keshav and addressed to Jai Singh][18] in the service of the emperor, Abdul Aziz is appointed to the safety of Saror *Thana* and granted his *mansab* as recommended by him. He gives to try his best in the chastisement of Shivaji. Raya and Hanwand are new appointments in your service, their *mansab* are 500 *Zat* and 350 *Sawar*, 500 *Zat* and 150 *Sawar*, especially he was considerate on safety of *Thanas*.'[19]

Appendix –B: *Farman* (11 Shawwal, 1075/ 17 April, 1665 A.D.) issued by Aurangzeb to Raja Jai Singh

Source: *FFPMBRS*, Vol.II, p.57

[18] *Arzdasht* (Rajasthani), Bandl No. 1, 1687 V.S.-1739, Rajasthan State Archive of Bikaner, Bikaner.
[19] *FFPMBRS*, Vol.II, op.cit., pp.57.58, *DLFMN*, p17, Appendix-B.

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Now in 1665, Jai Singh was made the viceroy of the Deccan, he was not in the role of an adviser to prince Mauzzam, but held the office. He was sent to Deccan in 1665 was hardly remarkable from purely military point of view, but was highly impressive in terms of diplomacy and intrigue.[20]

Shivaji was the son of Shahji. His father had assigned thirty-six villages from Poona *Pargana* to Shivaji. He had begun his life as a petty *Zamindar*. From 1645 to 1646, he became the trustee of the entire *Jagir*. Forts were considered the strategic points any region he realized this fact. He captured the first fort of Kondana in 1647. After this, he captured another fort of Purandar.[21]

He wanted to maintain peaceful relations with Mughals at Deccan, he had taken the permission from Aurangzeb to obtain territories and forts from Adil Shahi kingdoms.[22] Emperors had given the permission without any hesitation and as both were interested in Adil Shahi territories. After the conquest of Javali these relations could not continue for long period. Another attack was on the Mughal fort of Junnar.[23] Aurangzeb left Deccan due to war of succession. Shivaji had used this chance to consolidate his position in Konkan.[24]

Shivaji emerged powerful in Deccan State. It was a source of tension to Mughals. In 1657A.D., Aurangzeb tried to control the power of Shivaji but with little success over Shivaji. Shivaji had demanded the port of Dabhol and Adil Shahi Konkan and Balaghat.Khafi Khan wrote about Shivaji's worth-

"Shiva and Netaji were noted masters and experienced hands in the art of capturing fort."[25]

Employment of new war tactics against Shivaji

Mirza Raja Jai Singh in view of the most difficult and confusing mountainous roads, decided to cut the supply line to the forts of Shivaji by stationing his troops at main transit points and in order to keep sharp eyes on the movement of the enemy.[26]

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[20] Jos Gommans, *Mughal warfare*, London, 2002, p.73.

[21] *History of Deccan*, Vol.I, ed. H.K. Sherwaniand P.M. Joshi, Hyderabad, 1973, pp.560,561-562.
[22] Ibid, p.563.
[23] *History of Deccan*, op.cit., Vol.I, p.563.
[24] Ibid. p.567.
[25] Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol-II, op.cit., p.192,
در فن قلعه گیری شهرت تمام داشتند و استاد تجربه کار بودند۔

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Jai Singh took two wise decisions according to the geographical factors, first he did not annex all the forts under took by Shivaji, because "distance from imperial capital" would create complications in controlling them. Secondly, he secured the surrender of Shivaji's forts, as would "hem" i.e. surround him by Mughal possessions for eventual annihilation in case of disobedience.[27]Jai Singh expected to conquer the Deccan by buying every officer at his own price.[28]

Deccan forts can be classified as follows-

Hill Forts- Hill forts were situated on stone and other igneous rocks which were easily available. The hill forts construction became more complicated with the increasing requirements.[29] Rudramal, Khadkala, Kondana, Rajgarh, Rohira, Lauhgarh, Tikona, Purandar these forts were under Shivaji. Thathvada or Thathora, Panhala or Parnal were under Bijapur but after sometimes, Shivaji occupied these forts.

Land Forts- These forts situated on the ground. Punā, Mangalvide Mangalvira etc.

Marine Forts- These forts are located around the sea also on the hill. Janjira, the rocky island along with two towns of Dandā-Rājpuri was a cause of disagreement between the Siddis and Shivaji.[30]

He had started framing his strategy keeping in mind the difficult geographical condition of the region, in which Mughal army would not be as effective as in the plains of north India. He planned his strategy in such a manner that he wanted to alliance with rivals of Shivaji. Especially he offered unlimited promises of highest *mansab* and money to the chief officers and locals.[31]

- Firstly, he tried successfully to combine superior army against Shivaji in order to compel him to surrender before imperial forces. In this effect, he arrived at

[26] Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.II,op.cit., p.888.
[27] Jagdish Narayan Sarkar,*The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, op.cit., p.136.
[28] J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.IV, op.cit, pp.144-145, Sarkar's account of Jai Singh's battle against Shivaji is based upon Jai Singh's letters (*Hafi-Anjumann* Banaras and Paris manuscript), *Khatut-i-Sarkar* (R.A.S.) Sarkar has translated some letters in modern review.
[29] Nupur Prothi Khanna, The Nature of Fortifications: Their Conception, Construction and Sustenance, *Conserving fortified Heritage: The Proceeding of the 1st international Conference*, ed. Shika Jain, Rima Hooja, New Delhi, 2016, p.13.
[30] Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, op.cit., p.14.
[31] Jos Gommans, *Mughal warfare*, op.cit, p.89.

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Aurangabad, sent emissaries to various local chiefs and proposed co-operation with the imperialists against Shivaji.[32]

- He established out posts *(Thanas)* at several important forts. Important officers of Mughal army had responsibility of these forts. He sent Qutbuddin Khan to Lohgarh forts. Qutbuddin was the head of 7,000 *sawar* towards Junair and ordered him to establish *Thanas* in front of forts of Lohgarh and Nardark.[33]

Ihtisham Khan was left at Poona as the assistant to Jai Singh along with Randola Khan, Bairamdeo Sisodia, Zahid Khan, Janisar Khan and Khwaja Abul Mukarim at the head of 4000 *Sawar*. When Mirza Raja moved from Poona to Sawad, a place between Poona and Purandar and arrived at the foot of the hill from where two roads emanated towards Mughal Empire.

He posted Hanumant Rao at the head of 300 *Sawar* and 300 hundred foot musketeers in order to check roads and prevent the enemy from going out of the hills, Daud Khan was posted at the pass of the hill of Katal with his troops to guard the advance army going towards Saswad.[34]

Raja Jai Singh had a long experience in diplomacy and warfare, before his movement against Shivaji, he decided to win over the *Zamindars* and small rulers of the Deccani states.[35]

Jai Singh had procured information about European battle tactics from Manucci. His account, in which he had explained about these tactics, they used to fight in two tactics one by sea and other by land and mode of European cavalry warfare-

"The foot soldiers were separated from the squadrons of horse, and all had their matchlocks and swords. Those who were mounted had good carbines, pistols and sword....., I exhibited how the spearmen stood in front of the companies to hinder the cavalry from getting in and throwing into disorder the well-ordered ranks of the infantry. Thus, the battle would commence with great order and

[32] J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.IV, op.cit., p.62.
[33] We have collected this information from *Farman*, which was issued by Aurangzeb to Raja Jai Singh, *FFPMBRS*, Vol.II, p.888.
[34] Kazim, *Alamgirnama*,Vol.II, op.cit., p.888.
[35] Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, op.cit., p.50.

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discipline, the cavalry helping wherever it was necessary to repress an onslaught of the enemy. Many of thing did we tell him of our fighting in the open country".[36]

"We rode out with our carbines, two pistols in our holsters and two in our waist-belts, and carrying our swords. We rode two and two and began to career about, our horses had been excellent. Then first of all we skirmished with the carbine, and some circling and recircling , letting off our pistols, we made pretence of flight and pursuit. Then turning round and making half circle, the fugitive attacked the pursuer and let of his pistol. Thus, we went on till all ourcharges were fired off, of course without bullets. Then lying hand upon our sword we made gestures as if giving sword-cuts, which the other parried."[37]

Upon this spectacle, Jai Singh mounted on his elephant and he asked Manucci 'several times if really they fought like this in Europe? Manucci answered that "this was only a small specimen. We would show him sport when it came to reality, observing the same order; and if there were on the field dead men of horses, we would ride over them as if riding on a carpet, and make no account of them."[38]

English records of Shivaji give information about military possessions and policies of Mughals. According to this record Jai Singh had thirty thousand horses.[39]

In early January 1665, Jai Singh sent letters to Europeans named Francisco de Mello and Diogo de Mello to the western coast to the chief of the Portuguese settlement of Goa inviting him to help the imperialists by attacking Shivaji, who had collected a fleet of his own.[40]

In view of two enemies of Mughal Empire, Jai Singh very wisely decided to take up a position-

a- In the eastern, part of Shivaji's dominion, whence he could also easily threaten Bijapur instead of pursuing the war into to the Western Ghats or the Konkan plain further west.

b- Jai Singh played skilfully upon the hopes and fears of the sultan of Bijapur, holding forth the chance of reduction of tribute and removal of the

[36] Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor*, Vol.II, op.cit, p.115, *Mughal warfare*, p.160, Manucci gave the account on personal experience in this war.
[37] Manucci, *Storioa Do Mogor*, Vol.II, op.cit., pp.115-156.
[38] Ibid, p.116, Jos Gommans,*Mughal warfare*, p.119.
[39] *English Records of Shivaji (1659-1682)*, op.cit., pp.95.
[40] J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, op.cit, p78.

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emperor's displeasure, if Adil Shah aided the Mughals and thus clearly proved his want of connection with Shivaji.

c- He arranged to combine against Shivaji all his enemies and distract them, solicited the support of the English and Portuguese to help him by their armies, as well as of the Palaigars of Karnatak.[41]

d- He established his main camp near Saswad and himself took up his temporary residence in Poona. He posted one general Kutubuddin Khan at Lohgad with 7,000 troops to guard the western passes.[42]

Jai Singh was mature and expert general to battles and cooled the impetuous ardour of his youth. His foresight and political cunning, his smoothness of tongue and cool calculating policy, were in striking contrast with the impulsive generosity, reckless daring, blunt straightforwardness, and impolitic chivalry which we are apt to associate with the Rajput character. Now his western and hundred fights donned his armour at the age of sixty to crush a petty chieftain, who in less than ten years had grown great enough to battle all the resources of Bijapur and to challenge the prestige of the empire of Delhi.[43]

Fazil Khan, son of Afzal Khan[44], solicited from Jai Singh a command and an opportunity of avenging his slaughtered father on Shivaji.[45] The adhesion of petty Rajahs of the Koli country north of Kalian was secured through Niccolo Manucci, when he was chief of Jai Singh's European artillery.

Jai Singh and Portuguese

During the reign of Jahangir, policy of Portuguese viceroy Matias de Albuquerque had been to maintain friendly relations with Mughals. Under Shahjahan's reign and his fighting with Muslim rulers in Deccan, Portuguese helped Deccan rulers silently against the Mughals.[46]In the reign of Aurangzeb, the viceroy Melo de Castro adopted the policy of diplomacy.[47] He had two Portuguese captains in his service named Francisco and Diogo de Mello, to the western coast with letters to

[41] Ibid, *History of Deccan*, p.568.
[42] G.S. Sardesai, *New History of Marathas*, Vol.I, op.cit., p.162, *History of Deccan*, Vol.I, p.568.
[43] J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.IV,op.cit., pp.76-77.
[44] Afzal Khan was the commander of Bijapur, who was murdered by Shivaji, Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II, pp.117-118.
[45] G.S. Sardesai, *New History of Marathas*, Vol.I,op.cit., pp.161-162.
[46] Panduranga Pissurlencar, *The Portuguese and the Marathas*, op.cit., p.151, Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, New light on Mughal-Potuguese relations-, 1665-67, *P.I.H.C*,Varanasi, 1969, p.184.
[47] Ibid.

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the chief of the Portuguese settlement at Goa, inviting him for support against Shivaji.[48] Jai Singh sent Portuguese artillery officers in Mughal services[49].

Doni Antonio de Mello de Castro was the viceroy of Portuguese in Goa. Jai Singh protested with the Portuguese for having given support to Shivaji.

On 31st of March 1665, Anotonio de Mello eCastro wrote an apologetic letter to Jai Singh that-

"I received the letter of Your High-ness and it pleases me very much to have so near such a good neighbour. Between our King Sultan Aurangzib exists peace and friendship which has lasted for many years. Last year Captain Lodi Khan broke it without any reason, entering our territory of which I had complained to the king Sultan Aurangzib, hoping from the King that this excess done against his orders and against his friends, would receive an adequate punishment, because from these lands was never given help or favour to Shivaji nor was it enough for him to say that brings with him some Portuguese for him to presume that I consent to it for also in the lands of the Mughal King are found a great number of Portuguese people , without my permission, some for crimes that they did, others forgetful of their duty ; it is not my power to reduce them. In the same way, many Portuguese people are found in Golconda, in Canara..... What is certain is that the Captain, Lodi Khan, sought that excuse in order to cover up what lie had done, as if this act could hide from the eyes of the world what he did, whether with less care or with less zeal than he should have, allowing Shivaji to pass to Surat, for which the Portuguese could not be blamed; but thought I am greatly hurt and not at all pleased,..... I wished to please, has asked me, Thereby neither send orders to the North that they should not give Shivaji any kind of favour nor admit any of his people into our lands, and the same will be done from this side....."[50]

[48] Panduranga Pissurlencar, The attitude of the Portuguese towards Shivaji during the campaigns of Shaista Khan and Jai Singh, *Indian Historical Record commission*, Vol.IX, Calcutta, 1927, P.110.

[49] Pradeep P. Bahura, *The State at war in south Asia*, Lincona and London, 2005, p.41.

[50] Livro dos Actas do Conselho do Estado (Book of the Acts of the council of State), No.2, fl.36 cited by Panduranga Pissurlencar, The attitude of the Portuguese towards Shivaji during the campaigns of Shaista Khan and Jai Singh, *I.H.R.C*, Vol.IX, pp.111-112, wa can see also Panduranga Pissurlencar, *The Portuguese and the Marathas*, p.11-12, Panduranga Pissurlencar discovered in the archives of the Government of Goa, a copy of the order given to this Ambassador by the Viceroy of Goa, which throws much light on the relations of the Portuguese with Jai Singh.

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Jai Singh's campaigns against Shivaji captured Purandar Fort (15th Zilhijja, 1075 A.H. / June 1665 A.D.)

Purandar and Rudramal were famous forts at Deccan and belonged to Nizamshahi Kingdom. These forts were close to each other.[51] Saswad is mountain of Purandar six miles of South. It is most upper towers were 4,564 feet from sea level, 20 miles of south-east of Poona.[52]It is double fort and nearest one was independent and very strong fort of Rudramal in the east. Structure of Purandar fort is very confused, established on upper tower of mountain. Machi is lower fort of Purandar, 300 feet or more below it. Rudramal is important for its command of the Machi fort of Purandar on its northern side, where defence force had to live here.[53] This fort was a key to Purandar fort.[54]

The fortified peak of Vajragad, which commands the lower and main fort of Purandar. Beyond Purandar the range forms the water parting between the Karha and Nira rivers, about fourteen miles east of Purandar, above the village of Jejuri.[55]

Diler Khan and his Afghan troops, Hari Bhar and Udai Bhan Ghaur had taken possession in the Machi right opposite side of Purandar fort. They had tried to demolish the upper gates and bastion by their artillery. Kirat Singh with three thousand soldiers had taken possession in opposite side of the north gate of Purandar fort. Raja Nar Singh Gaur, Karan Rathor, Jagat Singh of Narwar, Rasul Beg and Sayyid Maqbul Alam were on the right side of fort. Daud Khan, Raja Rai Singh Rathor, Mohammad Salih Tarkhan took possession behind Purandar and faced its Khirki (postern) gate.[56]

Thus imperial army surrounded the fort of Purandar-

Right Side	Raja Nar Singh Gaur, Karan Rathor, Jagat Singh, Sayyid Maqbul Alam.
North Side	Kirat Singh and his three thousand troopers
Opposite side	Diler Khan and his Afghan troopers

[51] Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol. II,op.cit., pp.178-179, Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.II, p.889.
[52] James Macnabb Campbell, *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency Poona*, Bombay, 1885, p.2.
[53] J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his time*, op.cit, p.112, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.IV, p.83.
[54] J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.IV, op.cit., p.85.
[55] James Macnabb Campbell, *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency Poona*, op.cit., pp.5-6.
[56] Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, op.cit., pp.890-891, Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, p.179, J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol-IV, pp.83-84, Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, pp.57-58.

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Khirki (postern) gate Daud Khan, Raja Rai Singh Rathor, Md. Salih Tarkhan.

Raja Jai Singh had taken a decision that firstly they would capture Rudramal fort, which was the lowest one and was wall garrisoned. We know that he was an experienced general. In the early move of this operation he sealed the transport point, cut communication lines.[57]

Diler Khan, his nephew and Afghan troops, Hari Bhan and Udai Bhan Gaur were well-established between Purandar and Rudramal. In front of Rudramal fort were chiefs of artillery (Turkaz Khan and his party). One cannon, which was named Abdullah Khan was sent to this fort within three days. Fath Lashkar, Haheli cannons were also taken there. It was very tough job for Mughal army.[58]

Mughal army started the incessant bombardment on the base of the tower in front. On 13th April, Diler Khan and his soldiers stormed the tower and drove the enemy into field behind it, leaving on the field seven killed and four injured. Next day, the Mughal army pushed on to the inner area and tried to capture it by rocket. The Maratha soldiers run awayfrom the fort and took weapon from them. But Jai Singh wisely allowed them to return home in order to attract the defence force of Purandar. Now Mughal army occupied the Rudramal fort. Imperial army lost eighty soldiers killed one hundred nine were injured.[59]

On 28 Shawwal, 1075 /4th May, 1665, after occupied Rudramal fort was occupied, Aurangzeb issued a *Farman* to Jai Singh-

'Appreciating efforts of Diler Khan and his men in the siege of Rudramal fort and he explained strategy of war against Shivaji. Further says that Sarfaraz's *mansab* (1,000 *Zat*) had been reduced and his *Jagir* of Deccan were confiscated. He also discussed about the cannons. He arranged three big cannons for Purandar campaign'.[60]

[57] Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, op.cit., p.892.
[58] J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.IV,op.cit., pp.83-84.
[59] Ibid.p.85, Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, p.892, Bhimsen, *Nushka-i-Dilkusha*, f.27b.
[60] *FFPMBRS*, Vol.II,op.cit., pp.61-63, *DLFMN*, p17, Appendix-C.

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Appendix –C *Farman* (28 Shawwal, 1075/ 4th May, 1665 A.D.) issued by Aurangzeb to Raja Jai Singh:

Source: *FFPMBRS*, Vol.II, p.61

After the arrival of the imperial army near Pabal, agents of Shivaji began to visit Jai Singh, and again up to his arrival at Poona, they brought letters of Shivaji from him. But he did not give any answer.[61]

Shivaji again sent another *Hindi* letter with his trusted officer Karmāji to Jai Singh he gave the proposal to him that-

"I am a useful servant of imperial threshold, and many services can be secured from my humble self. If the Mughal army turns to the invasion of Bijapur, such a course

[61] Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, op.cit.,p.49.

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would be better than undergoing the many hardships (of campaigning) in this hilly region (i.e. Konkan) of difficult Paths and stony soil."[62]

Jai Singh had given the answer to Shivaji's letter-

"The imperial army, countless like the stars, has been appointed in the South against you. Do not put your faith in your hills and stony country. God willing, it will be trodden flat with the dust by the hoofs of the wind-paced charges of the imperial army. If you desire your own life and safety.....Otherwise the fate you will meet with will be only the consequence of your own deeds."[63]

Imperial troops were choosing as the Machi (Malchar) fort. Jai Singh appointed the experts (Diler Khan and Kirat Singh), they advanced to carry to works Machi of the imperial heroic troops to a place which stands two white towers in front of the trenches of the enemies.[64]Immediately Shivaji's soldiers sallied out from their Shelter and began to fight. The fight started between two enemies. Enemies attacked on Kirat Singh at one night, but he was ready and disgusted them. Second attack was on Rasul Beg Rozbhani. He was caught sleeping. The guns in his trenches were spiked, and his fifteen soldiers were injured. But other neighbouring group of imperial army came to help them, the enemies ran away. Next day, a short fight erupted between them, eight mughals soldiers were killed.[65]

He divided his army into two groups. Daud Khan and Raja Rai Singh were sent to plunder Shivaji's territories. Mughal army worked their hardest to accomplish their task. Jai Singh watched every place as far as possible.[66] The siege of fort was effectively conducted, Mughal army captured five towers and one battlement (*Kangura*). Mughal cavalrywere plundered Shivaji's territories. He would usually agree to Shivaji's soldiers, they entered the Mughal service with sufficient *mansab*.[67]

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[62] Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, op.cit., p.49.

[63] Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, pp. 49-50, see also *Shivaji's visit to Aurangzeb at Agra (A collection of contemporary Rajasthani letters from Jaipur State Archives)*, tr. J.N. Sarkar & Raghubir Singh, Calcutta, 1963, p.3. In 1665, Raja Jai Singh had written this letter to Aurangzeb.

[64] Jagdish Narayan Sarkar*The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, op.cit., p.57.

[65] J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol-IV, op.cit., 88, Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, p.894.

[66] Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.II, op.cit., p.892.

[67] Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, p p.891-892, Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, p.50, J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji & his time*, p.115.

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Diler Khan Rohela's soldiers raised large wood batteries for mounted musketeers, artillery places over them, because of which fort's towers will easily be captured, however they managed to capture the white tower (*Burj-i-Safaid*). In the starting, Maratha army had checked the activities of imperial army, nevertheless Mughal army failed to put off them from mountaineering up the fort wall by ladders. But Bhupat Bundela and other soldiers successfully attempted this difficult task unfortunately, they died.[68]

At the other side, Diler Khan, Balkrishna Shekawat held the position in field, Achal Singh and Kirat Singh provided corroboration. Shivaji had lost heavily and retreated behind the black tower (*burj-i-Siyaha*), which is the lower half of Purandar. Imperial army began to gall by discharging bombs, gunpowder bags, rockets and stones. After they captured three bastions, Jai Singh gave order to his soldiers to stop at fight big trenches exactly at the place where they had reached.[69] Diler Khan arrested two Qiledar of fort.[70]

Firstly, Jai Singh's efforts were directed to dragging guns to the top of the sharp and difficult hill. Imperial army had small pieces of mountain by heavy cannons, they had succeeded in this difficult work. Maratha army was frustrated from heavy fringing of imperial canons. At that time, imperial army captured five towers of Purandar fort.[71]

Now Purandar fort was occupied, in just a matter of time. According to *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri*, "At last the brave warriors, fighting a number of battles with great stamina and courage, harassed and scattered the "Dwellers of Hell". Mirza Raja himself with careful planning captured the fort of Purandhar."[72]

After the victory of Purandar fort, emperor issued the *Farman* to Jai Singh. It contained acknowledgement of this excellent work. Jai Singh received this *Farman* and says that

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[68] Kazim, *Alamgirnama*,op.cit., pp.898-899.
[69] Ibid, pp.898-899.
[70] Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II, op.cit., pp.169-170.
[71] Kazim, *Alamgirnama*,op.cit., pp.899-900, 'The siege of Purandar and Rudramal commenced on 31 March 1665, Rudramal fell on 14 April. One of the towers of Purandar had been demolished by bombardment, but the breach was not sufficiently wide, hence the bombardment, continuing.' This information collect from Rajasthani letter no.5, Dugarsi Sihmal jivaraj to Kalyandas, Purandar, date 3rd May, 1665, p.6 cited from *Shivaji's visit to Aurangzeb at Agra*, ed. J.N. Sarkar, Raghubir Singh, Calcutta, 1963, p.16, *FFPMBRS*, Vol.II, p.68.
[72] Ishwardas Nagar, *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri*, op.cit., f.52a,tr., p.76.

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"The special robe and honour which had been sent previously by His Majesty [Aurangzeb] through Mirza Beg to me, had been despatched through Ghazi Beg. These two macebearers had been sent to ascertain news about the possession of the fort of Mahuli and other forts which men had been deputed from place to place."[73]

Raja Jai Singh and Daud Khan continued the war against enemies and to plunder and lay waste Shivaji's territories. Mughal armywas continuously on the way of war without any rest for five, six months. Shivaji himself held Rajgarh fort, Kandana fort, which sheltered his wife and other relatives.[74]

Maratha also began to think in terms of their security and understand the situation. As Jai Singh admits, "sometimes we have failed to prevent the enemy from accomplishing their hostile designs."[75]

Maratha also gave tough fight to Mughal army.[76] Khafi Khan clearly says that-

"بسبب تاختهای ناگهان کفار و دست بردهای نمایان آن گروه بد کردار و شبخونهای تار و گرفتن سر راه و درهای دشوار گزار و آتش دادن جنگلهای دراز اشجار راه تردد بر لشکر اسلام تنگ ماختند، آدم و چارپای بسیار لشکر بادشابی تلف شدند آخر کار کفار زیاده از شمار بدار البوار پیوستند راه فرار اختیار نمودند."

"The surprise of the enemy, their gallant success, attack on dark nights, blocking the roads and difficult passes, and burning of jungles, made it very hard for the imperialists to move about. The Mughals lost many men and beats."[77]

Jai Singh expressed after victory of Purandar fort, "I beg to present to you [Aurangzeb] as an offering of congratulation on this victory, the money that has been spent out of the imperial treasury in the operations for the capture of Purandar, because the conquest of this fort is the first victory of the Deccan expedition, and my life and fortune (*Jan o māl*) are at the service of the Emperor. I therefore, hope that

[73] Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, op.cit., p.58.
[74] Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol-II, op.cit., p.180-181, Bhimsen, *Nuskha-i-Dilkusha*, f.27b.
[75] J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, ,Vol.IV, op.cit., 87-88.
[76] Setumadhavaro S. Pagadi, *Shivaji*, op.cit., p.49.
[77] Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol-II,op.cit., p.180 .

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your Majesty would graciously accept it, and the aforesaid amount would be credited against me."[78]

He appreciates his officers after the victory of Purandar fort. In this siege, his officers had rendered good service, he says that, "I hope that they may be enlisted in the service of the court." He was in the favour of increase the *mansab* of his officers. Diler Khan and Daud Khan were two favourite officers of Jai Singh[79].

Jai Singh had achieved success, Shivaji had chosen one of these two options:

- He would submit his proposal to Jai Singh.
- Resort a part of Bijapuri Tal-Konkan to the Sultan of Bijapur, join the latter and oppose the Mughals.[80]

A trustworthy officer of Jai Singh brought the news that the king of Bijapur, was wresting some places of his former Tal-Kankan. He had secret alliance with Shivaji, every possible help was given to his army posted in Tar-Konkan, so that the imperial forces might not desire to march thither. When Jai Singh had observed of these situations that hopeless Shivaji had no other option but to drive him into an alliance with Bijapur.[81]

On 20th May, 1665 A.D., Shivaji sent once again his officer Raghunāth Rao to Jai Singh to convey Shivaji's terms, he was taking the most stringent oaths.[82] Jai Singh had reported to him. He replied that, "The Emperor has not at all permitted me to negotiate with Shivā. I cannot, of my own authority, hold conference with him openly. If Shivā comes unarmed, in the guise of offenders begging pardon, and makes supplication for forgiveness, well, the Emperor is the shadow of God, the ocean of his

[78] Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, op.cit., p.55, Antonio de Mello de Castro had congratulated Jai Singh on his victory against Shivaji, Panduranga Pissurlencar, The attitude of the Portuguese towards Shivaji during the campaigns of Shaista Khan and Jai Singh, *I.H.R.C.*, p.114.

[79] Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military Dispatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, op.cit., p.65.

[80] Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, Mirza Raja Jai Singh and Shivaji, *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XLII, pt.I, April, Trivandrum, 1964, p.253.

[81] Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military Dispatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, op.cit., pp50-51.

[82] Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-al-Lubab*, Vol.II, op.cit., pp.180-181, Bhimsen, *Nushka-i-Dilkusha*, f.28a, Bhimsen did give the name of Shivaji's officers.

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mercy may possibly flow (towards Shivā)".[83] Shivaji's officer went back and brought message of Jai Singh.[84]

Meeting of Jai Singh and Shivaji-

After Mughal army occupied fort, Shivaji had decided alliance with Mughals. In addition, he sent a Brahman to Jai Singh with promises of surrenders of the several forts. He would allow visiting Jai Singh and backing home safely. Shivaji decided to choose one of these two alternatives. Jai Singh discussed both promises with the imperial head office that "he would submit his proposals to me and beg to be spared his life and property. If this overture was accepted, nothing could be better. If not, he would adopt the second alternative, restore a part of the Bijapuri Tal Konkan to the Sultan of Bijapur, join the letter and oppose the Mughals."Shivaji did not agree with these alternatives and he yielded to come to visit Jai Singh and discuss new terms for alliance. This alliance would equally be fruitful to Mughal Empire. They had to take Shivaji into confidence. It was possible that winning over a supporter against Bijapur.[85]

Jai Singh did not totally believe the intentions of Shivaji, he had given order to Diler Khan and Kirat Singh before night to continuously attack the fort. They severely attacked with their army and captured remaining part of Khad-Khalan. Jai Singh had easily seen the fire of battle from his tent.[86] Shivaji observed this situations, he offered to surrender the fort to Mughal general in order to save his men and honour. Jai Singh had taken wise step to impress upon the Maratha leader that even after the efforts of two month severe battles the Mughal army was as energetic and fresh to capture the fort.[87]

Khafi Khan wrote about Shivaji's promises-

"وآن تبه کار بزاران اظهار سو افکندگی و خجالت دست بسته دقت بطریق بندهای زایدل مسجوم رویدین درگاه آورده ام خواهی ببخش و خواهی بکش رامی رای تست و التماس نمود قلعهای کلان

[83] Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military Dispatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, op.cit., p.51.
[84] J. N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, Calcutta, 1948. 135.
[85] Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military Dispatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, op.cit., pp.51-52.
[86] Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.II, op.cit., p.894, Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II, p.181, Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military Dispatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, p.52.
[87] Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.II, op.cit., p.907, Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II, p.181.

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نامی را با ولایت کوکن حوالۂ بندهای بادشاہی می نمایم و پسر خود را در جرگۂ بند های جان نثار کہ در حضور خدمت نماید می سپارم."

"I have come as a guilty slave to seek forgiveness, and it is for you either to pardon or to kill me at your pleasure. I will make over my great forts, with the country of the Konkan, to the emperor's officers, I will send my son to enter the imperial service. As for myself, I hope that after the interval of one year, when I have paid my respects to the Emperor, I may allow, like other servants of the state, who exercise authority in their own provinces."[88]

According to *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, "he [Shivaji] came into Jai Singh's camp on 8th Zi,ll Hijja of eight RY [regnal year] , 1075 (23rd June, 1665)."[89] Shivaji crossed the mountains and proceeded straight to Jai Singh's camp.[90]

Jai Singh sent Munshi Udairaj and Ugrasen Kachhwah to conduct him to his presence. They told him if he agreed to surrender all his forts. After this message Shivaji said that, "I have entered into (imperial). Many (of my) forts will be added to the imperial dominions."[91]

Jai Singh sent Jani beg Bakhshi to receive Shivaji. He entered in audience tent (*Diwan-i-Khan*) of Jai Singh. At that time discussion started between Surat Singh Kachhwaha and Munshi Udairaj on the proposal of Shivaji. After a long discussion, they came to result and decided the terms of alliance between Jai Singh and Shivaji.[92] Purandar alliance was one of the important alliances in Indian history.

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[88] Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II, op.cit., pp.181-182 (Elliot & Dowson, p.274).
[89] Saqi Musa'idd Khan, *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, op.cit., p.51.
[90] Manucci says that the Rajah came out to receive him with great friendliness and politeness, Manucci, *Storio Do Mogor*, Vol.II, p.120.
[91] Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military Dispatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, op.cit.,p.52.
[92] Ibid, p.52, Bhimsen, *Nushka-i-Dilkasha*, ff.27-a-b, Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, p.182,Saqi Musa'idd Khan,*Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, pp.50-51, Ishwardas Nagar, *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri*, f.55b, According to *The Cambridge History of India* that, "This raja [Jai Singh] by marvellously skilful diplomacy raised a complete ring of enemies round Shivaji and laid siege to the fort of Purandar." Lt. Colonel Sir Wolsley Haig, *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol.IV, ed. Sir Rechard Burn, New Delhi, 1963, p.258. J.N. Sarkar has referred to this as "a conditional engagement" which Shivaji made with the Mughals, *House of Shivaji*, p.124, Satish Chandra also gives his views on this alliance, "Mirza Raja Jai Singh is generally accepted as one of the ablest diplomats of his age. One of the most interesting features of Jai Singh's diplomacy was his advocacy of alliance with Shivaji against Deccan state", Satish Chandra, *Mughal Religious Policies, The Rajput & Deccan*, New Delhi,1993, p.127.

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The terms of this treaty was described by Aurangzeb in his *Farman*(Old no.99/New no.108), which was issued to Raja Jai Jai Singh.

- Twenty-three forts (large and small) of Shivaji, the revenue of which was four lakh of *huns*(coin of Gold), should be annexed to Mughal.

In the Deccan

1- Rudramal or Vajragarh
2- Purandar
3- Kondand
4- Rohira
5- Lohgarh[93]
6- Isagarh
7- Tanki
8- Khadkala near Kondana
9- Tikona

In Konkan

10- Mahuli
11- Muranjan
12- Khirdurg
13- Bhandardurg
14- Tulsi-Khul
15- Nardurg
16- Khaigarh or Ankola
17- Marg-garh or Atra
18- Kohaj
19- BasantNang
20- Karnala
21- Songarh
22- Mangarh
23- Nang

[93] Lohgarh (iron fort) was one of the strongest and most famous fort of Deccan, it was situated about four miles south of Karle and eight miles southeast of Khandala, in the range of the Sahyadris which forms the southern limit of the Indrayani valley. Four gates of Lohgarh fort as ganes, Narayan, Hanumant and Maha, J.N., Kamalpur, *The Deccan Forts*, Bombay, 1961, pp.40-41.

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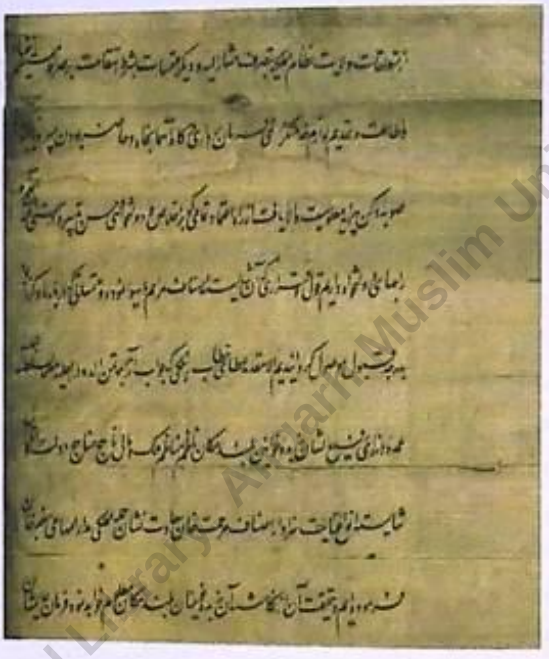
- Twelve forts, one of which was Rajgarh, one of the Nizam Mulk's state and standard revenue of which Shivaji on condition of service and loyalty should hold one lakh of *huns*.[94]

Appendix –D: *Farman* issued by Aurangzeb to Raja Jai Singh during the time of Purandar Alliance



Source: *Purandar ki Sandhi*, p.19

- Aurangzeb accepted all promises of Shivaji but he could not give the title of Raja to him.
- Aurangzeb sent *Khilat* and *Farman* to Shivaji separately.[95]

[94] *Purandar ki Sandhi*, Hindi tr. Shujauddin Khan Nkshbndi, ed.Mahendra Khadgawat, Rajasthan State Archive, Bikaner,2016,pp.18-20, Appendix-D, Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, p.183, J.N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, p.136, Sahahnawaz Khan, *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.III, p.576, Mountstuart Elphinstone, *History of India*, Allahabad, 1966, p.550.

[95] *Purandar ki Sandhi*, op.cit., p.22. Appendix-E.

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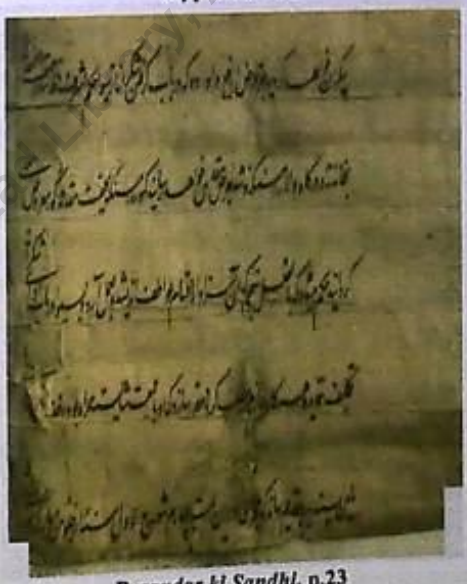
Appendix – E

***Purandar ki Sandhi*, p.21**

Appendix – F



***Purandar ki Sandhi*, p.23**

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- Desires him to make Shivaji acknowledge his allegiance to the crown. Adds that Shivaji has been allowed 4 lacs Huns from the tribute of Til-Kokan (Bijapur), 5 lacs Huns from the tribute of Adil Khan's territory of Bala ghat.[96]

Jai Singh says about the *Farman*, which was issued by Aurangzeb that, "I submit that the grant of twelve forts and the territory yielding one lakh of hun to him may be confirmed and should be entered in an exalted *farmān*, decorated with the symbol of the auspicious palm and should be issued to him according to the details given (by me). May you, the lord and giver of manifold gifts, be safe!"[97]

It was shrewd policy of Jai Singh. One side he threw a perpetual bone of conflict between Shivaji and Bijapur by accepting the proposals of Shivaji about the territories of Tal-Konkan and Balaghat. He saved his army and wealth, which might be lost in the occupation of these territories by any battle.[98]

Further Mughal Empire would get forty lakh *huns* in thirteen instalments. On the 14th June, Jai Singh had presented two horses and one elephant to Shivaji and sent away with Kirat Singh. Shivaji reached Kondana, delivered the fort to Kirat Singh. Moreover, Ugrasen Kachhwaha brought son of Shivaji away with him. Jai Singh sent the keys of these seven big forts and that of the Khadkala or Rudramal to Aurangzeb by the hand of Ghazi Beg[99].

According to the terms of alliance of Purandar, Shivaji agreed to furnish a contingent of Maratha troops for the Mughal assault against Bijapur.[100]

Aurangzeb's attitude about Purandar alliance-

Initially attitude of Aurangzeb to Jai Singh's proposals about the terms of treaty of Purandar was one of the suspicion and distrust. He did not believe Maratha

[96] *Purandar ki Sandhi*,op cit., pp.1-24. *Purandar ki Sandhi* is remarkable work published by Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner. This *Farman* is 22 feet long and 99 lines. Its script is *Shikasta Persian*. It is notable as that Purandar alliance between Aurangzeb and Shivaji, see also *Vakeel Report*,No.324/24, Shivaji Aurangzeb ke darbar me, Rajasthan State Archives of Bikaner, Bikaner, *DLFMN*, p.18..

[97] Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military Dispatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, op.cit., pp.79-80.

[98] Ibid, p.54.

[99] Bhimsen, *Nushka-i-Dilkusha*, f.28a.

[100] Robert C. Hallissey, *The Rajput Rebellion Against Aurangzeb in seventeenth century India*, 1977, p.34.

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chief and how Jai Singh could change his mind? Jai Singh assured Aurangzeb of adequate guarantees and took strong oaths about Shivaji.[101]

(i) He [Shivaji] promised to promptly perform any military duty in Deccan.

(ii) He [Shivaji] promised that in case of any deviation on his part in the above agreements. The emperor would be free to camp the ruin not only of himself but also of his family.

(iii) He asserted that he would regard this ruin as being the result of his own action.[102]

Jai Singh was satisfied about promises of Shivaji. He had informed Aurangzeb about these terms-

"True, he has got 12 large and small forts including Rajgarh. But even while he had all his impregnable forts and was besides aided by the king of Bijapur, we succeeded through God's help and his Majesty's fortune in pressing him hard. Now that we have taken away from him the forts of Balaghat, such as Purandar, Rohira, Kondana, Lauhgarh and in Tal-Konkan Mahuli, Muranjan, Khirdurg, Takhul(?), etc., not one of which had hitherto been besieged and taken by anybody, and now that we have hemmed him round, like the centre of a circle, (With our possessions), if Shiva stays by a hair's breadth from the path of obedience he can be totally annihilated by us with the slightest exertion."[103]

Aurangzeb realized that, "the location of the forts of Shivaji differed from (i.e. did not fit in with) the position of the other conquered forts, that out of the twelve forts left in the possession of Shivaji, five lay in between the imperial forts, that in view of the sedition, mischief and unreliability of Shivaji, these should not have been left to him, and that the entire territory should have been cleansed of the stains of his existence."[104]

Aurangzeb did not trust Shivaji's promises. He wanted at first to agree on the proposal to allow Shivaji to keep twelve forts and wrote a bonafides of Jai Singh.

[101] J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.IV, op.cit., p.97.
[102] Ibid.
[103] J.N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, pp.145-146.

[104] Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, Mirza Raja Jai Singh and Shivaji op.cit., pp.256-257.

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Therefore, he had given a spirited defence of his own policy. This seemed to have satisfied the emperor who acceded to his proposals.[105]

Jai Singh's Plans after Purandar alliance

After Shivaji's submission, Jai Singh adopted a wise policy of restraint in order to win him over to the Mughal side. Therefore, he bargained and lured Shivaji by offering him hopes of imperial favours in the future.

Communication was a great problem of Mughal Empire in those days. This was justification given by Jai Singh, to Aurangzeb in order to pardon Shivaji. These territories were situated at a great distance from the imperial capital. Distance created difficulties aggravated by Shivaji's expectation of help from the two Deccani Sultans. Jai Singh arranged the new terms for the grants to Shivaji had given the twelve forts and one lakh of hun from other forts and Mahals of Nizam-ul-Mulk. Jai Singh was worried that if Shivaji would again join the Deccanis.[106]

Jai Singh adopted a wise policy of moderation to Shivaji. J.N. Sarkar observed that no promise was made by Jai Singh and Aurangzeb to confer on Shiva the viceroyalty of the Deccan.[107]He had planned to use Shivaji against Bijapur in consonance with an eternal principle of diplomacy. The alliance of Purandar was not a remote plank in Jai Singh's Maratha policy. Therefore, it was designed as to form a solution of the wider Deccan problem.[108]

As Jai Singh wrote to Aurangzeb (June, 1665), "Concerning the territories of Bijapur – of which Bijapur Tal-Konkan is actually in his possession and some other tracts of Bijapuri-Balaghat are desired by him-if Your majesty is planning to punish him, in view of his insincerity and alliance until recently with the enemies of the emperor (i.e. Bijapur), and his consent to accompany the imperial army in this very expedition now that the time is favourable (to us), what can be better than this that first we overthrow Bijapur with the help of Shiva?"[109]

[105] J.N. Sarkar, *House of shivaji*, op.cit., pp.150-152.
[106] Jagdish Narayan Sarkar,Mirza Raja Jai Singh and Shivaji, op.cit., p.257.
[107] J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.IV, op.cit., p.99.
[108] Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, Mirza Raja Jai Singh and Shivaji, op.cit., p.253.
[109] J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangze*, Vol.IV,op.cit., p.104.

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Shivaji entered at Agra-

Nushka-i-Dilkusha, *Muntakhab- Al- Lubab* and *Alamgirnama* graphically describe the whole episode of Shivaji's visit to Agra. *Dingal* letters written by Ram Singh's officers are also very important and valuable source of that time.These letters were written in the *Rajasthan* dialect or the *Rajasthani* variety of Hindi. These letters gave the daily report of the conversation held in house of Ram Singh after return from Mughal court and to visit Shivaji Ram Singh was his responsible care- taker during his stay in Agra.[110]

Jai Singh's successful campaign against Shivaji and the alliance of Purandar was signed, he decided to send Shivaji to Mughal court. In the alliance of Purandar, Shivaji wanted to meet Aurangzeb and he constantly want to be exempted either to enter into Mughal service, he continuously wrote letters about this matter. Therefore, it was difficult task for Jai Singh. However, his promises and arguments for forgiveness and reward piled him. The Maratha sources clearly say that Jai Singh gave Shivaji hopes that after his visit to Aurangzeb, he was likely to be sent back as governor of Mughal Deccan, with sufficient army, wealth for the conquest of Bijapur and Golkonda.[111]

Shivaji was ready to visit Mughal court as other nobles, Rajas, and he sent his Son Sambhji as his presenter, with the proposal that his son would be honoured with the *mansab* of 5,000 *Zat* and 5,000 *sawar do aspa* and *seh aspa*.[112]

Jai Singh offered his personal assurance to Shivaji, no one would be hurt by his visit to emperor. Shivaji came to neighbourhood of Delhi with son Sambhaji. Ram Singh and Mukhlis Khan Officers received them.[113] They were brought to meet Aurangzeb. The majority of Maratha officers of Shivaji favoured this journey.[114]

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[110] J.N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, op.cit., p.155.

[111] J.N.Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.IV, pp.98-99, Jagdish Narayan, Sarkar, *TheMilitary Dispatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, p.126. Neither Jai Singh nor Aurangzeb ever discussed such promises to Maratha chief and even no Persian source mention this version.

[112] Bhimsen, *Nushka-i-Dilkusha*, op.cit., f.30a.

[113] Khafi Khan, *Mumtakhab-al-Lubab*, Vol.II, op.cit., p.189, Saqi Musta'idd Khan, *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, p.55, G.S Sardesai wrote that, "Jay Sinh [Jai Singh] played the part of a mediator for reconciling the two opposite views into a beneficent union. History has pronounced this as Jay Sinh's blunder in not having judged his master's character correctly," *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.I, p.174.

[114] Duff, *History of Marathas*, vol.I, op.cit., p.114, J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.IV, p.100, G.S. Serdesai, *New History of the Marathas*, Vol.I, p.174.

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Aurangzeb wrote a letter (5th April 1666 A.D.) to Shivaji saying, "The letter which you addressed to me reporting your having started, by the advice of Mirza Rajah, for the purpose of saluting the threshold of my court, has been placed before me. It has become the cause of increasing my favour towards you."[115]

A contract established mutual confidence between Jai Singh and Shivaji, on the assurance of the latter, Shivaji was determined to visit Delhi.[116]

Ram Singh had sent a letter to Shivaji. Aurangzeb gave order in this letter (11th of May 1666 A.D.) that, "Kumar [Ram Singh] and Fidāi Khan should advance one day's march from Agra and welcome Shivaji on the way and conduct him to the capital Shivaji will be presented at Court on the 11th May. Tej Singh, the son of Kanhaji, who has been deputed by the Maharaja [Jai Singh] to accompany Shivaji, is also coming."[117] 'The *istikbal* [welcome], or reception of Shivaji, had not been such as he expected'.[118]

Shivaji entering the Mughal court-

When Shivaji reached Aurangabad, Saf Shikan Khan, who was the governor of Aurangabad, did not come out to receive him. Shivaji noticed this and he went to quarters of Jai Singh. Next day Saf Shikan Khan came to meet him and offered apologies. On 11th May, he left Aurangabad and arrived at Agra. Aurangzeb was then holding court in this city.[119]

Ram Singh and Mukhlis Khan brought Shivaji at Mughal court. It was the celebration of Aurangzeb's birthday.[120]He distributed the betel-leaf (*pān-birā*) among the nobles and Shivaji too got one. Ram Singh's officer described the event-

'In the morning of the 12th May, Rām Singh after finishing his patrol round the Emperor's palace rode out to welcome Shivaji by advancing towards his own camp. The Kumār's agent Munshi Girdhar Lāl was bringing Shiva into Agra by the route of the Dahar-ārāgarden, while the Kumār and Mukhlis Khan (the two nobles appointed by the Emperor to welcome the Marātha Rajah) followed the path of eunuch Firozā's

[115] J.N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, op.cit., p.157, Duff, *History of Marathas*, Vol.I, p.113, *Shivaji Visit to Aurangzeb at Agra*, p.22.
[116] Duff, *History of Marathas*, Vol.I, op.cit.,pp.113-114.
[117] J.N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, op.cit., p.158.
[118] Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*,op.cit., p.190.
[119] Bhimsen, *Nushka-i-Dilkusha*, op.cit., pp.57-58, J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and His times*, p.137.
[120] Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.II,op.cit., pp.962-963.

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garden. On the way, Kumār learnt of this confusion and sent a man to divert Shivaji towards his own position. The two parties met together in the Nurganj garden near the central market----------The Kumār had set up tents for his guest close to his own quarters and there Shivaji was led and made to alight with welcome music etc.'[121]

When Shivaji had entered at Mughal court, it was so late, that Aurangzeb had left Mughal court. Asad Khan (who was paymaster)presented Shivaji to Aurangzeb. According to *House of Shivaji*, "Shivaji presented one thousand *mohars* and two thousand Rupees as his *nazar* and Rs. 5,000 as *nisar* (propitiatory gifts.) Shambhuji, the son of Shivaji, was introduced to the Emperor and he offered 500 *mohars* and Rs.1,000 as *nazar* and Rs.2,000 as *nisar*."[122] According to *Mutakhab-ul-Lubab*, "He [Shivaji] made an offering of 500 *asharfis* and 6,000 rupees, altogether 30,000 rupees."[123]

According to *Alamgirnama*,

پیکبذار و پانصر اشرفی بر سبیل نذر و شش ہزار روپیہ برسم نثار گزارا نیدہ۔

"Shivaji presented one thousand and five hundred (1500) *ashrafi* as his *nazar* and six thousand rupees as his *nisar*."[124]

Shivaji was allowed to stand in the *mansabdars* of five thousand rows. It was third category of nobles, he did not receive any honour from the hand of Aurangzeb. He was very disappointed.[125]Aurangzeb had noticed that and told Ram Singh, "Ask Shiva, what ails him". Then Ram Singh came near him the letter said, "You are seeing, your father has seen, Your Pādishāh has seen what a man I am, and yet you have deliberately kept me standing so long; I cast off your *mansab*. It you wanted me to stand, you should have done so according to the right order of precedence."[126]

Suddenly Shivaji started shouting meaningless and stupid thinks. Aurangzeb sent *Khilats* (Robes of honour) to him by Multafat Khan, Aqil Khan and Mukhlis Khan and led him back to the presence. Shivaji did not accept *Khilat* and said that, "I

[121]J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji & His Time*, op.cit.,pp.142-143.
[122]J.N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*,op.cit., p.160.
[123]Khfi Khan,*Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II, op.cit., p.190.
[124] Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.II,op.cit., pp.963-964.
[125]Ishwardas Nagar, *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri*,op.cit., f.56b, Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor*, Vol.II, p.128.
[126]J.N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*,op.cit., pp.160-161.

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refuse to accept a *Khilat*. The Emperor has purposely made me stand below Jaswant Singh. I am such a man and yet I am deliberately kept standing. I declined the Emperor's *mansab*, I will not be his servant. Kill me, imprison me, if you like, but I will not wear the *Khilat*."[127]

Sayyid Murtaza Khan remarked, "He is a wild animal. If he has not accepted the *Khilat* today, he wears it tomorrow."[128] Shivaji compared himself with Jaswant Singh and other eminent nobles. It was wrong because they had spent their imperial duties a long period under Shahjahan and Aurangzeb. Shivaji must understand, he just entered at Mughal court. Aurangzeb had given another opportunity to Shivaji. He would get full *Khilat* (*Sar-o-pā*) to him. Shivaji's son attended Mughal court with Ram Singh, Aurangzeb had given one full robe, a jewelled dagger and a pearl necklace as an *inām*.[129]

According to J.N. Sarkar, "The failure of this peace mission was diplomatically reported to Aurangzeb as a case of the rustic Shivaji having been suddenly taken ill in the unaccustomed heat of an imperial darbar."[130]

No one had given serious advice to Aurangzeb on this issue if Jai Singh intervened it seems to be situation would have changed. The opposing group of Jai Singh (Begum Sahib, Jafar Khan, and Raja Jaswant Singh) had spoken to the Emperor against Shivaji. Jaswant Singh had jealousy with Jai Singh because of his campaign failure against Shivaji and Jai Singh had achieved success against Shivaji. Raja Jaswant Singh said that, "He is a mere Bhumiā, and he came and displayed such discourtesy and violence! It is your Majesty's concern if you overlook it. But he ought to be punished."[131]

Aurangzeb takes an advice from Raja Jai Singh and he had written a *Farman*-

[127] J.N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, op.cit., p.161, Bhimsen, *Nushka-i-Dilkhusha*, ff.30a-30b.
[128] Ibid..
[129] Ibid.
[130] J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji & His times*, op.cit., p.144.
[131] J.N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, op.cit., p.163.

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'Write what you consider advisable about Shiva, and it will be done.' But no reply had yet come.[132]

Aurangzeb appointed Ram Singh with Shivaji to Afghanistan and fought the battles against Yusufzai and Afridi. It was planned that Shivaji would be murdered on the way and this murder would be presented as an accident. Jai Singh had agreement with Shivaji's safety for the period of his visit to Aurangzeb, he could not cheat with Jai Singh if this plan was not carried.[133] But contemporary sources did not give the information of this plan.

About this time, the despatch of Jai Singh was received, saying, "I have given him promise and assurance of safety and he is engaged in our warfare in this region. Pardoning his offences would be advisable."[134]

On 29th May, Shivaji wrote a petition (*Arz-dasht*) to Aurangzeb and submitted to Muhammad Amin Khan, in the petition he states that, "If your Majesty restores to me all my forts taken by you, I shall pay you two crores of Rupees. Give me leave to depart; my son will remain here in your service and I shall take every oath that you may ask for. I have come here in firm trust in your Majesty. My loyalty is strong. Wherever you plan a campaign, summon me and I shall attend there. Your Majesty is now at war with Bijapur. Let me go there, fight and die and thereby render service to you."[135]

Aurangzeb replied, "He has gone off his head because of my mildness towards him. How can he be given leave to depart for his home? Tell him firmly that he must not visit anybody, not even go to the Kumār's house."[136]

Aurangzeb gave order to Faulad Khan (who was police chief of Agra) and Ram Singh to kept watch on Shivaji's activities. Mughal army were going around Shivaji's camp. Faulad Khan and his soldiers with artillery were stationed around

[132] Rajasthani letter no.26, Parkaldas to Kalyandas, Agra, Friday, 13th July, 1666, p.46, cited from *Shivaji Visit to Aurangzeb at Agra(A collection of contemporary Rajasthani letters from the Jaipur State Archives)*, p.37.
[133] J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji & His Time*, op.cit., p.146.s
[134] Saqi Musta'Ad Khan, *Maāsir-I-Alamgir*, op.cit., pp.55-56.
[135] J.N Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, op.cit., p.168, *Shivaji Visit to Aurangzeb at Agra*, p.37.
[136] Ibid, pp.168-169,*Shivaji Visit to Aurangzeb at Agra*, p.37.

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Shivaji's camp.[137] According to *Alamgirnama*, "Samba-Ji received a good deal of notice from the emperor, and that upon a letter of remonstrance arriving from Raja Jai Singh, the guards were removed from Shivaji's residence."[138]

He had written to Aurangzeb for departure of Shivaji that, "The Emperor, therefore, ordered *Faulad Khan*, the *Kotwal*, to remove the guards" so that Shivaji might feel relieved, "*Kumar Ram Singh* too slackened his watch" *Aurangzeb* even assigned new and more comfortable for *Shivaji*."[139]

On 16th June 1666, Shivaji sent another petition to Aurangzeb for permission to go to Benares, as a religious mendicant. Aurangzeb replied that-

"बहुतभला।फकीरहोय पिरागकाकोटमेंरहो।

बहादर खांवैठाकासूबायतइससो खबरदाररहेगा।"[140]

"Let him turn faqir and live in Allahabad fort. Bahadur Khan, my *subahdar* of that place, will keep a good watch over him!"[141]

Jai Singh informed Aurangzeb through Ram Singh, "Every moment has its special requirement. At the time when I begged the Emperor to permit Shivā to return home, the situation here bore a different aspect from now. But under the present circumstances, it is not at all expedient to send him to this side. Also, tell the Emperor, that Shivā should be kept there in a proper style (i.e., not as a prisoner in duress vile), so that his officers here may not despair of his return to Maharashtra and in their hopelessness go over to Adil Shah and rise tumults against us, by which policy we shall avoid the necessity of sending a fresh army to the Deccan. Shivā ought to be conciliated and assured that after the Emperor had reached the Deccan, he would be summoned there from Agra. His son should, as a matter of policy, be kept with the Emperor in order that his followers (here) may loyally assist us."[142]

Shivaji and his followers had planned for his own escape. He feigned illness and nobody could meet him. According to his custom that he began to sending food.

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[137] Bhimsen, *Nushka-i-Dilkusha*, op.cit., ff.30b-31a, *Shivaji & his Times*, p.147, Duff, *History of Marathas*, Vol.I, p.115, *Storia do Mogor*, Vol.II, pp.128-129.
[138] Kazim, *Alamginamah*, op.cit., p.970.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Rajasthani Letter No. 21, Purkaldas to Kalyandas, Tuesday, 29th May, 1666, p.45.
[141] J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji & His Times*, op.cit., p.147, J.N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, p.170, *Shivaji visit to Aurangzeb at Agra*,pp.35-36.
[142] J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji & His Times*,op.cit., p.149.

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he distributes sweetmeats to Brahman, poor people and courtiers. For this purpose, he collected large baskets covered from papers, which were lifted by two persons on their shoulders. Suddenly his behaviour was decent manner with imperial officers. In the beginning, imperial officers checked these baskets but after sometimes approved them without checking. A faithful servant of Shivaji came to his tent, who resembled him. He wore Shivaji's ring in his hand. This whole drama was planned by Shivaji. When any imperial servant would come to his tent, too ill to be sleep.[143]So one evening, according to his plan, he emptied two baskets of sweets, he and his son sitting into two baskets. They reached Mathura. When imperial servants came to his tent in the morning, Shivaji was not in his tent.[144]

Ram Singh proceeded to submit the news to the emperor and he said that-

"सेवाइनकोजीमीहौ। येहपैदाकरील्यावौ।

हमभी षवरीकरतेहौ।कवरजीजावौढुढौ षवरीकरौ।"

"Shiva in his charge. He should produce him. We will make enquiries, but he too should go on search and find him out."[145]

Aurangzeb was very angry on Ram Singh, he reduced his *Mansab*.[146] He sent a *Farman* to Jai Singh about Shivaji's escape-

"सेवा हरामषोर ईहां सौ भागा हौ"[147]

"Disloyal Shiva has escaped from here."

Begum Sahiba supported Ram Singh and she says that-

'He is hereditary servant and it is not possible that he would know let (Shiva) flee away. He is at fault, but Mirza Raja Jai Singh is a noted servant of the Empire who has rendered notable services and is still serving your majority.'[148]

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[143]Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II, op.cit., p.198.

[144]Kazim, *Alamginama*, Vol.II, op.cit., pp.970-971, Bhimsen, *Nushka-i-Dikusha*, ff.30b-31a, Saqi Musta'idd Khan, *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, pp.55-56,Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, Vol.II, pp.128-129.

[145]*Shivaji visit to Aurangzeb at Agra*, pp.44-45 (Rajasthani Letter No. 33 Parkaldas to Kalyandas, Thursday, 23 August. 1666), Ishwardas Nagar,*Futuhat-i-Alamgiri*, f.57b-58a here it is an important thing that Ishwardas Nagar did not discuss Ram Singh's role in visit of Shivaji at Agra he used the name of other son (Kirat Singh) of Mirza Raja Jai Singh, Aurangzeb sent a *Farman* to Jai Singh that, 'Disloyal!shiva has escaped from here', *Shivaji visit to Aurangzeb at Agra*, p.45.

[146] Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II,op.cit., p.209.

[147] Rajasthani Letter No. 33, Parkaldas to Kalyan Das, Thursday, 23rd August, 1666, p.61, cited from *Shivaji visit to Aurangzeb at Agra*,, p.45.

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Jai Singh's reaction about Shivaji's escape was thus-

"The times are bad for me. My anxieties are ceaseless. The lying Bijapuris are wasting time. There is no trace or news of the fugitive Shiva. My days are passing in distraction and anxiety. I have sent trusty spies, in various disguises, to get news of Shiva."[149]

Khafi Khan gives following causes of Shivaji unhappiness-

- Shivaji's son had already received the *mansab* of five thousand, so a higher *mansab* should have been given to him.
- Jai Singh had assured Shivaji to have much hope which he did not feel to be fulfilled by Aurangzeb.
- Shivaji's reception was not according to his expectation.[150]

Shivaji's escape is a controversial issue between the historians, Bernier and other travellers account have given same opinion and still further write that Shivaji was imprisoned after this incident and orders were given to place guards around him.[151]

It is agreed in Persian sources that when Shivaji escaped from Mughal court in disgust, Aurangzeb ordered to inform Jai Singh about the incident. He was busy in campaign against Bijapur at that time. Khafi Khan wrote that, "It was ordered to report to Jai Singh the true state of affairs and Shivaji was forbidden to come to the Royal presence until the Raja's answer and advice were received."[152]

Kazim wrote that, "the matter was reported to Jai Singh, so that things might be done according to the advice given by him, the reply received from Jai Singh

[148] Rajsthani Letter No.36, Parkaldas to Kalyandan Das, Agra, Monday., 27 August, 1666, p.67, cited from *Shivaji visit to Aurangzeb at Agra*, p.47

[149] J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji & His Times*, op.cit., p.154, Satish Chandra has given his view on Shivaji's escape, "The failure of Shivaji's visit to Agra was itself a proof that Jai Singh and Aurangzeb had somewhat different perception of the Deccan problem. For Jai Singh, alliance with the Maratha chief was necessary for success against Bijapur; For Aurangzeb, the expedition against Bijapur as well as alliance with Shivaji were open question," Satish Chandra, *Mughal Religious Policies, The Deccan Rajputs & The Deccan*, p.141.

[150] Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II, op.cit., pp.190-191, Maulana Shibli Numani, *Alamgir*, p.16.

[151] Maulana Shibli Numani, *Alamgir*, op.cit., p.14.

[152] Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II, op.cit., pp.200-201.

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was that he had brought him (Shivaji) through his own intermediary and responsibility, and it is expedient to forgive the affronts of that disgraced one"[153]

Aurangzeb ordered Ram Singh to search for Shivaji. He rode towards Dholpur and had sent his men to all the four sides. Shivaji reached Mathura, Allahabad and Banaras. After faced long journey then he reached Deccan.[154]

Raja Jai Singh gives news to Aurangzeb that Shivaji had returned to his home (in Deccan) and Netu had been arrested.[155]

Thus Raja Jai Singh played valuable role in this battle and alliance, despite circumstances and confusion during this period. His journey against Shivaji was very hectic. His all military preparations were successfully carried out. Shivaji became panic. He surrenders to him, promising the surrender of several forts which he still held.[156]This was a big victory of Jai Singh's military career. His diplomatic and political nature was highlighted in whole journey.

The episode of Shivaji's escaped from Agra,it was harmful to Raja Jai Singh and Ram Singh. Aurangzeb directed blame to Ram Singh for this event. He had doubt in their loyalty. Ram Singh followed the instructions of his father. Rajasthani letters give us the information that Aurangzeb wanted to kill Shivaji. This letter shows the feeling of Begum Sahiba about Jai Singh's assurance to Shivaji-

'Mirza Raja Jai Singh is your noted servant and on his assurance (*qual*) Shiva has come here. He is also your servant..... If you will kill him no one will have any faith in your assurance.'[157]

Thus his success against Shivaji, it was admirable of his military career. His policies worked successfully, he established Mughal power at the Deccan state. Purandar alliance was remarkable success of his diplomacy policies against Shivaji. He proved that he played excellent role as a governor.

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[153] Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.II,op.cit., pp. 969-970.
[154] Rajasthani Letter no. 30, Ballu Shah to Kalyandas, Agra, Monday, 20th August, 1666, p.54 cited from *Shivaji Visit to Aurangzeb at Agra*,p.41.
[155] *Persian Akhbar* (Jaipur collection), Thursday, 27 September, 1666(7 Rabi-us-sani, julus yr.9) cited from *Shivaji Visit to Aurangzeb at Agra*.
[156] Maulana Shibli Numani, *Alamgir*,op.cit., p.11.
[157] Rajasthani letter no.22, Parkaldas to Kalyandas, Thursday, 7th June, 1666 A.D., Agra, and p.39 cited from *Shivaji Visit to Aurangzeb at Agra*, p.33, but we do not find this type of information in Persian sources.

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But it was something wrong to him.Shivaji's escape from Agra, it was very crucial time for Raja Jai Singh and Son Ram Singh. As matter of fact Aurangzeb had lost confidence in Raja Jai Singh.

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CHAPTER- IV:

(B) Bijapur Campaigns of Mirza Raja Jai Singh

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Chapter-IV

(B) Bijapur campaigns of Mirza Raja Jai Singh

On 20th November 1665 A.D., Jai Singh turned his attention to battles against Bijapur. A Purandar alliance brought agreement of support to Mughals against Bijapur.[1]

We can see background of the relationship between Mughals and Adil Shah, when Aurangzeb was a governor of Deccan. At this time, he was directing operations against Bijapur[2] and this led him to conclude a hasty peace with Ali Adil Shah. According to this alliance, Bijapur agreed to pay 1.50 crores as indemnity, to surrender Parenda fort besides allowing the Mughals to keep Bidar and Kalyan, the strategic forts on the north- eastern frontier of Adil Shah.[3]

But Bijapur could not continue the terms of the treaty, this state had failed to pay out of an indemnity of 1.50 crore but king had paid only fifteen lacs, to surrender Parenda fort and also he had failed to pay the subsidy which they had promised to Shaista Khan for invading the Maratha in 1660. At last, this treaty was broken.[4]

Bijapur was the capital of Ali Adil Shah, it is situated two hundred and forty miles south- east of Mumbai. At the fortieth mile from Hotgi, the line crosses a range high at the end of a range of low hills, from which high ground the first glimpse of Bijapur was obtained.[5]

A fortified wall surrounds Bijapur consisting of ninety- six bastions, with their connecting curtain walls, and five principles gates as the Makka gate on the west, the Shahapur gate at the north-west corner, the Bahmani gate on the north, the Allahpur gate on the east, and the Fateh gate on the south –east, these gates with their flanking bastions. The walls have been well build of stone and mortar. Outside the

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[1] Mohammad Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.II, ed. Khadim Husaini and Abdul Hai, Calcutta, 1868, p.988, Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II, ed. Maulavi Kabir Al-Din Ahmad and Ghulam Qadir, Calcutta, 1870, p.191.

[2] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, ed. W.E. Begley and Z.A. Desai, New Delhi, 1990, p.533.

[3] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit., p.543, Shandi Sadiq Ali, *The African Dispersal in the Deccan*, New Delhi, 1996, p.126.

[4] R.P. Tripathi, *Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol.II, Delhi, 2014, pp.34-35.

[5] Henry Cousens, *Bijapur and its Architecture Remains*, New Delhi, 1977, p.1. Berar (Imadshahi dynasty), Ahmadnagar (Nizamshah), Bijapur (AdilShahi), Golkonda (Qutbshahi), Bidar (BaridShahi), J.N. Kamalapur, *The Deccan Forts*, Bombay, 1961, p.22.

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walls and running nearly the whole length round them, is a deep broad moat, and beyond this can still be traced remains of a covert way.[6] Bijapur has been called the Palmyra of the Deccan. As with Palmyra, the traveller comes upon the city of ruins, across miles of barren country.[7]

Bijapur campaign is incredibly important for Jai Singh's life. This campaign not only throws new light on Jai Singh's military tactics in Bijapur. He had full confidence on his military tactics and strategy. An attempt has been made in this chapter to highlight Jai Singh's last campaign of Bijapur.

A variety of warfare strategy, tactics, discipline, organisation, ornaments, were adopted to improve military efficiency. Jai Singh had adopted all varieties of warfare strategy at the Deccan campaigns especially in Bijapur. He wanted to take all rights in own hands as that posting, transfers, rewards, punishments and logistics.[8]

Jai Singh gives full information about his expedition of Bijapur in *Haft Anjumann*, this source is very valuable Jai Singh tell us full story of Bijapur expedition. His strategy of war, his thought about war, his role as an administrator and every aspect of Jai Singh's governorship of Deccan especially in Bijapur deal with this source.[9]

Jai Singh prepared field for the battle against Bijapur-

Jai Singh started his preparation for diplomatic step. He made contact with Bijapuris officers, local *Zamindars*. He gave the promise of highest *mansab*, rich rewards and honour to them.

Jai Singh wrote about his strategy that-

"Your Majesty knows how small Shivaji's territory is and yet how very long our troops had to fight against him. Surely, a war against such kingdom requires very great efforts and organisation. Knowing that the conquest of Bijapur is the prelude (*muqadamma*) to the conquest of all Deccan and Karnatak. Qutubul Mulk and other *Zamindars* of the South have thrown the veil off the face of devotion and obedience

[6] Henry Cousens, *Bijapur and its Architecture Remains*, New Delhi, 1977, pp.6-7.
[7] Henry Cousens, *Bijapur and Architecture remains*, op.cit., pp.2-3.
[8] Munshi Udairāj alias Tāle'yūr Khan, *Haft Anjumann* (Banares Ms. 53b-93b) , English tr. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, Calcutta, 1969,p.135.
[9] Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, Aspects of Military Policy in Medieval India, *P. I.H.C.*, A.M.U., Aligarh, 1975, p.255.

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and they have united their interests (with Adil Khan) and are acting in unison. If this is the situation, it is a matter of anxiety and requires earnest planning. I pray that I, who do not require any injunction as regards devotion and performance of imperial service, may not be required to hurry up."[10]

Many high officers of Adil Shah, who were not happy with their ruler, they wanted to a proper treatment by him. They decided a meeting with Jai Singh secretly.[11] They were assigned assurance letter by Abul Majid, who was one of the brave soldiers of Adil Shah. He also joined the service of Jai Singh. Jai Singh had taken advice in all matters of Bijapur from him. He wrote to Aurangzeb recommending *mansab* of Abdul Majid should be five thousand *Zat* and four thousand *Sawar*.[12]

Most important among them was Mulla Ahmad and his family joined the Mughal service.[13] He later on died on the way to royal presence at Ahmadabad. His brother MullaYahya and a number of relatives weregiven exalted jobs. MullaYahya gave the title of *Yahya Khan*. Besides them, Abul Muhammad (Bahlol Khan), Shaikh Ali and others with their retainers came and joined imperial forces. They gave proper *mansabs* and stipend much above the promised rate.[14] About 500 infantry joined the imperial side from Javii. Jai Singh and his despatch dated to the emperor confirmed how his winning over tactics proved effective and it weakened the military power of both Shivaji and Adil Shah.[15]

The Afghans, Abyssinians and Mahdavi were three important sects of Bijapur army, according to shrewd diplomat character of Jai Singh, he wanted to win over them by offered of reward, *mansab* and grant of *Jagirs*. However, the great difficulty with him that which was arose by unsettled to marches, opposite marches of mughals

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[10]Udai Raj, *Hafi Anjumann*, op.cit., f.90a, cited by *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, p.24.

[11]Bhimsen, *Nushka-i-Dilkusha*, Rotograph No.43, C.A.S. Department of History, A.M.U., Aligarh, f.26b.

[12]Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, op.cit., pp.191-192.

[13]Mohd Ibrahim Zubairi, *Basatin al-Salatin*, Hyderabad, 1824, pp.404-405, 'Preperation for the campaign against Bijapur is going on Mulla Ahmad has come to the Mughal camp and met Mirza Raja.' Rajasthani letter no.10, Harnath to Kalyandas, Burhanpur, Tuesday, 24th October, 1665, p.11, cited from *Shivaji visit to Aurangzeb at Agra(A collection of contemporary Rajasthani letters from the Jaipur State Archives)*, Calcutta, 1963, p.17,*Purandar ki Sandhi*, Hindi tr. Shujauddin Khan Naqshbndi, ed. Mahendra Khadgawat, Rajasthan State Archive, Bikaner,2016, pp.12-14, Sir William Foster, C.I.E, *The English Factories in India 1665-1667*, Vol.V, London, 1925, p.85.

[14]Bhimsen, *Nushka-i-Dilkusha*, op.cit., f.26a-b.

[15]Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*,op.cit., p.50.

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and Bijapuris, Marathas were plundering activities. The following destruction and depopulation of surrounding regions, its main *taluqas* of Naldrug, Sholapur and Gulbarga near the fort of Bijapur the offer of *Jagirs* in those areas did not proving attractive enough to the potential Bijapuri deserters.[16]

During this time, Aurangzeb issued a *Farman*(old no. 100/new no.109, dated 27 Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1076/ 27th September, 1665) to Jai Singh, he explained his strategy and orders against Bijapur to him-

'Appreciating his services rendered in the conquest of Konkan, desires him to leave Rasul Beg with one thousand men there and to call Fatah Jang Khan and Purdil Khan to him (Maharaja). Directs him to be very careful of the tricks of Mulla Ahmad the embassy from Adil Khan of Bijapur. Asks, to force the *vakil* of Qutubul Mulk to pay the tribute and promise of a grant of *mansab* on the next '*Tula Dan*' ceremony which is to be held in Rabi-ul Akhir, 8 Julus. Says that Saif Shikan Khan has been ordered to make necessary arrangements for the supply of ration and ammunition.'[17]

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[16]Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, op.cit.,pp.24-25, Jos Gommans, *Mughal warfare*, London, 2002, pp.89-90, 'Their hand of courage would be held back by the payment by way of *tankhwah* [salary], or something in cash and grant of many *Jagir* sfrom old territory for the maintenance and sustence of their children.' Bhimsen, *Nushka-i-Dilkusha*, ff.28b-29a, tr. JN Sarkar, Bombay, 1972, pp.48-51.

[17]*Farasi Farmano ke prakash mai Mughalkalain Bhart evam Rajput Sashak*, Vol.II, Hindi tr. Shujauddin Khan Naqshbndi, ed. Mahendra Khadgawat, Rajasthan State Archive, Bikaner,2010,pp.73-75, *A Descriptive List of Farmans, manshurs and Nishans*, ed. N.R. Khadgawat, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner, 1962,s p.19, Appendix-A.

Appendix –A: ***Farman (27 Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1076 A.H./ 27th September, 1665 A.D.) issued by Aurangzeb to Raja Jai Singh***

Source: ***Farasi Farmano ke parkash mai Mughalkalain Bhart evam Rajput Sashak,*** **Vol.II, p.73.**

Jai Singh's policy towards Qutb Shah-

Jai Singh wanted support of Qutb Shah of Golconda. Golconda was one of the powerful states at the Deccan. He also afraid that if Qutb Shah would support Ali Adil Shah. It could be harmful to Mughal Empire. He had written to Aurangzeb about his policy that, "It is highly expedient to show imperial favours to Qutb Shah now, and to induce him to give up the idea of joining the Bijapuris. Therefore, I have made friendly and conciliatory overtures to him... If the veil is withdrawn [from our real

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intention about him] and he despairs of peace with us, then he will be driven to ally himself with Adil Shah."[18]

In spite of all this, if he takes to the path of thanklessness, Jai Singh would get the better of him and at that time submitted a petition (*Arzdasht*). For the present, it was expedient to do as had been submitted.[19]

Secret Plans of Jai Singh with *Zamindars* of Bijapur-

Jai Singh wrote letters of conciliation to *Zamindars* to the people of Bijapur as soon as their letters of solicitation came.[20]At first, he agreed to the contents of their applications came and then had written replies there to, he did not write any fresh letter of conciliation. During the time of the governorship of Shaista Khan and Jaswant Singh gave no details of such supplicants.[21] He did not clear the picture of Bijapuris *Zamindars*, he did not give any detail about the relationships of *Zamindars* with him.

"The Zamindārs of the Karnātak and the Abyssinain mercenaries, who had established themselves in the Karnul district (south of the Raichur Doab) in almost open independence of the king of Bijapur, were invited with tempting offers of reward to join Jai Singh."[22]

Jai Singh wrote about his military despatches that it was "proper to despatch the first '*arzdasht*' after one or two victories."[23]At the same time Jai Singh wrote about the despatches a time-absorbing process depending on collection of reports of isolated events and reports.

Jai Singh administrative arrangements at Deccan-

Jai Singh had two guiding principles of administrative arrangements-

(1) To enforce the administrative regulation

[18]Udairaj, *Haft Anjumann*, op.cit., f.72, cited by Jagdish Narayan Sarkar,*The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general* , pp.84-85.
[19]Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, op.cit., p.85.
[20]Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, op.cit.,p.991.
[21]Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, op.cit.,p.95, Ram Singh was among the favoured with the grant of a robe of honour jewels, and a female elephant, Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.II, p.907, Shahnawaz Khan, *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.II, ed. Mirza Ashraf Ali, Calcutta, 1890, pp.301-303.
[22] J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.IV, op.cit., p.122.
[23]Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, op.cit., p.134.

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(2) To enforce economy

He issued orders for 'fixing contingents in preparation to the needs of each fort. Ludi Khan had been settledseven hundred footmen in the village and *mahals* of the Deccan on the strength of the *sanad* of Shaista Khan. This was not suitable for Deccan regulations. Now Jai Singh modified this arrangement. Twenty seven hundred footmen were dismissed of the rulers areas by him. If necessary, could be called for out of the contingents of the old forts 'situated in a comparatively secure area in the hinter-land behind the frontier.'[24]

Jai Singh suggested to Safi Khan (who was deputed to administer the affairs to Ahmadnagar) that 'the *diwan* should first ascertain the total revenue (*Jama*) of the villages and *mahals*yielding one lakh of *hun* at the end of the year and then act according to the agreements in consultation with himself, i.e., by following a conciliatory attitude towards the Marathas.'[25]

War tactics of Bijapuri army-

Jai Singh needed two armies, one army was for offensive purpose against Bijapur and second was for defensive purpose, example that protecting the imperial dominions from the surprise raids of Bijapur.[26]

Army of Bijapur was expert in the Cossack tactics and guerrilla warfare, they were made sudden and harassing raids on the imperial army and dominions and dislocating the latter, without coming face to face in a decisive engagement. They followed discipline.[27] In December 1665, Abdu'l-Lah Qutb Shah helped his brother-in-law AdilAdil Shah, and sent a large army under Nekham Kham to help Bijapur against Mughals.[28]

Adil Khan would close all the directions of his forts as safety from imperial forces. Khafi Khan wrote about his strategy that, "The embankments of the tanks were cut, poisonous matters and carrion were thrown into wells, the trees and lofty

[24]Udai Raj, *Haft Anjumann*,op.cit.,ff.63a-b,*The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, p.143.
[25]Ibid, f.76a, Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, p.144.
[26]Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, New Light on Mirza Raja Jai Singh's policy in Bijapur, Vol.XLIII, pt-II, *Journal of Indian History*, Trivandrum,1965, p.750.
[27]Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, New Light on Mirza Raja Jai Singh's policy in Bijapur, op.cit., p.751.
[28]Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.II, op.cit., p.1019, *History of Deccan-Medival Period (1295-1724)*, Vol.I, ed. H.K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 1973, p.468.

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buildings near the fortress were destroyed, spikes were fixed in the ground, and the gardens and houses on both sides of the city were to destroyed that not a trace of culture was left near the city."[29]

Needs of fine artillery and finance to Bijapur expedition-

Jai Singh had written to Saf Shikan Khan that, "having supplied (to the army) shot and powder to serve the purpose of 7 big canon which are with us, he should despatch other cannon with their accessories through the direct road of Parenda. On 20th of Rabi 'us Sani\ 20th October, 1665, the news had been spread about the start being made from this place."[30]

He had brought out of the sum of one lakhs of rupees from *Subah* of Malwa. According to imperial order, four lakhs of rupees had made over to clerks. Twenty lakhs of rupees were spent against Shivaji. He would not spend any single rupee of the emperor uselessly. Abdul Latif, who was the *Diwan* of army, had sent an account of the income and expenditure to *Jumlal-ul-Mulk* (i.e. imperial *wazir*). Imperial officers had demanded six-month salary, which was in arrears, and they were starving. Moreover, officers wanted to cash money according to their ranks. It was far sight of Aurangzeb to choose Saf Shikan Khan for arranging for the march and other matters.[31]

Alamgirnama also inform of Jai Singh's war strategy-

"راجہ توپ اندازان و باتداران و دیکر احتشام شعین کردہ

بندوبست آن نمود و پارۂ غلہ بجت ذخیرہ فرستاد. بیست و پنجم دراشنامی قطع مسافت قراول عنیم ازدور نمایان شر."[32]

Jai Singh first made his submissions about the cannons. *Malik Maidan* cannon and many other cannon were present in the fort of Bijapur. He asked forty to fifty cannons to be sent him from the Deccan fortress. The imperial artillery chief (Saf Shikan Khan) requested to send him powder, shot, rockets (*ban*) and other artillery

[29]Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II, op.cit., p.194, Elliot & Dowson, *The history of India Astold by its own historians*, Vol.VIII, New Delhi, pp.277-278.
[30]Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, op.cit., p.88.
[31]Ibid, pp.88-89.
[32]Kazim Khan, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.II, op.cit., p.922.

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requisites(*masalah-i-topkhana*) in quantity sufficient for such an undertaking. He would set the cannon around Bijapur fort-

(i) Out of ten cannon were in the camp.

(ii) Three cannons left in the fort of the Purandar.

(iii) Jai Singh was take seven cannon with him.

(iv) Five other cannon that had been sanctioned by the court may reach here very soon.

(v) Saf Shikan Khan had brought five cannon from the fort of Daulatabad.[33]

Appendix B: *Farman* gives information about canons

Source: *Purandar Ki Sandhi*, p.7

[33] *Purandhar ki Sandhi*, op.cit., pp.6-8, this *Farman* gives information about plans of attack to Bijapur, Appendix-B-C.

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Appendix C: *Farman* gives information about canons

Source: *Purandar Ki Sandhi*, p.9

Nevertheless, this arrangement did not come into form, it was postponed.[34]

Strength of imperial army

The great Mughal army of about fifty thousand soldiers under the supreme command of Jai Singh started from Purandar towards Bijapur. The Vanguard which consisted of seven thousand five hundred soldiers including five hundred well equipped musketeers was commanded by Sarfraz Khan, Khawas Khan, Galib Khan, Duttaji, Rustan Rao, Pardal Khan, Chitrabhoj Chavan, Atish Khan (*mir-i-atish*) and

[34]Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*,o p.cit., p.70, J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. IV, p.127.

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others were in the train of Diler Khan along with their allies Jadu Rao Shivaji'shalf brother Vyankoji.[35]

Jai Singh broadly followed the long-standing Mughal tradition of battle based on Central Asian practice[36].

(A) Vanguard (*Harawal*)
(B) Central (*KulorGhol*)
(C) Right wing (*Maimanah*)
(D) Left wing (*Maisarah*)
(E) Left wing of the centre
(F) Rearguard (*Chandawal*)[37]

Jai Singh himself commanded the centre at the head of twelve thousand *Sawars*, especially Rajputs. Daud Khan and Raja Rai Singh, each at the head of six thousand *Sawars* were given the command of right and left wings respectively. Qutabuddin Khan along with Helal Khan, Dilawer Khan and Udajairam and others officers were posted in the rear of the main army. Shivaji, at the head of his nine thousand Marathas troops was placed in the left of the centre. Two divisions of the army under the command of Shahsawar Khan and Turktaz Khan marched at the distance parallel to the main army.[38]

Mounted Musketeers (*Sawaran-i-Barqandaz*)

A number of military men were allowed at Mughal court. They would carry out the imperial orders. There were not necessary of other gunners besides those who were posted to guard treasury and other royal *Karkhanas* (workshops).[39]Governorship of Jai Singh reveals, his strategy based on his clear assessment of military situations and complexities. He would take all responsibilities of this expedition on his shoulders without any interference and he wanted to avoid launched of a large-scale

[35]Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, op.cit., pp.988-989.
[36]Sharfuddin Ali Yazdi, *Political and military institutes of Tawerlane*, tr. Major Davy, Delhi, 1972, 108-109.
[37]Jagdish Narayan Sarkar,The *Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*,op.cit.,pp.137-138.
[38]Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.II, op.cit., pp.988-999, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*,p.104, *History of Deccan- Medieval Period (1295-1724)*, Vol.I, p.381, Md. Ibrahim Zubairi, *Basatin-us-Salatin*, pp.406-12.
[39]Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, op.cit., p.70.

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offensive in view of the fundamental weakness of his position. While two imperial armies would always, act in agreement and their identities must be kept separate.[40]

The imperialists had hardly advanced over two stages (*manzil*), Abul Mohammad, the grandson of Bahlol Khan who held a high position in Bijapur and, now was disgusted on the issue of the headship of the clan, came over to join Mughals with his support and followers. Jai Singh admitted him immediately and created him a five thousand and four thousand *mansabdars*.[41]

Jai Singh had set out towards Bijapur without taking big guns and siege materials in the impression that the defence of Bijapur fort was weak and army was disunited as he was told by the Bijapuri envoy Mulla Mohammad Sadiq and wrote to the emperor in this respect that-

"the enemy's troops are disunited and quarrelling among themselves, the fort of Bijapur has no protective works, no materials and provisions for standing a siege, and as soon as the imperial army arrives in that track most of the nobles (chiefs), pillars of state (arakan) and gentry (officers) (aiyan) of that region well enter into circle of imperial servants. Because of these occurrences, Adil Khan would be brought downed on his knees... I have postponed summoning (i.e. without waiting for the arrival of) any big artillery and siege materials (for taking the fort) from Pareenda." This clearly shows that the Bijapuri envoy deceived Jai Singh because the actual position of the defence of Bijapur was complete in all aspect and the Raja himself witnessed it when arrived in the proximity of Bijapur fort.[42]

Jai Singh's troops

Jai Singh had discussed with his officers their duties in *Haft Anjumann*. We have collected information about their duties, *Jagirs* and appointment. He gave his personal views about different personalities. He gave responsibilities to them in Bijapur campaign.

Daud Khan was in service under Jai Singh in Deccan against Shivaji. He was governor of Khandesh. It covers the *Parganas* of Sirsa, Dhatrat and Khanda among

[40]Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, New light on Mirza Raja Jai Singh's policy in Bijapur, pp.25-26.
[41]Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.II,op.cit., p.990, Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II, pp.191-192, Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, pp.105-106.
[42]Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, op.cit., pp.107-110.

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the dependencies of Hissar as *Tuyul* on Daud Khan. According to *Farmans* his salary would be given to him.[43]

Prithvi Singh- Jai Singh discuss about Jaswant Singh's son Prithvi Singh, he says that, "I [Jai Singh] hope that he may be favoured with a *mansab* through the imperial grace."[44]

Diler Khan and his brother Bahadur Khan Rohilla, they were the sons of Darya Khan. Kalpi and Kannauj were the *Jagir* of Bahadur Khan.

Qutbuddin Khan, he had a contingent more than what was required by the regulations and his soldiers had good horses and were serviceable and experienced. Jai Singh says that I [Jai Singh] am not making a request for his increase but I suggest that in the matter of his *mansab* the condition should be to give his *jagir* in lieu of his pay."[45]

SikandarKhan (brother of Fateh Jung Khan) had started from Parenda with food provisions and war materials for imperial camp attacking and slain by a Bijapuri and on 12th January, Sharza Khan had the command of six thousand troops at Deogaon.[46]

Shivaji was detached from the main imperial army to invade the fort of Panhala. However, he met with a crushing defeat on 16th January and retired to the fort of Khelna (Vishalgarh).[47]The grants of two lakhs from the imperial treasury were used for Shivaji's army at the time of emergency. Jai Singh had considered it as an excessive favour shown towards him. He described the battles of Shivaji against Bijapur. Jai Singh says that, "In the very beginning of this expedition he had rendered good service----------. He is always prepared for service and sacrifice of his life at the head of 2000 horsemen and 7000 foot soldiers. The services that he rendered in the fort of ofPhaltan and Thāthvada have been mentioned above."[48]

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[43] Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, op.cit., pp.107-110.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid, pp.86-87.
[46] Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.II,op.cit., p.1001.
[47] Ibid, pp .1001-1003.
[48] Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, op.cit., pp.102-103.

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Fateh Khan was one of the favoured officers of Jai Singh. He says, "Only one officer with one thousand cavalry in that region can effectively supervise the conquered region. Fateh Khan Jung had got a good contingent." He had communicated with Fateh Jung Khan, who told him that he was earmarked for deputation to Nander during the Bijapur expedition. It would be better if he accomplished us in this expedition for much exertion was expected from him and in Konkan, there was no work to do.[49]

"Jai Singh also intrigued with many other Zamindars of Bijāpur and sent to them letters for seducing them from loyalty to their legitimate sovereign and offering them service under the Mughal Emperor. When Adil Shah protested against this conduct, Jai Singh replied that it had always been the practice of Mughal viceroys to grant letters of conciliation to all who solicited their favours."[50]

Jai Singh's expedition against Bijapur

Firstly, Jai Singh had turned his attention towards the strong fort of Phaltan ,Mangalvida which lies in *jagir* of the chief Adil Shahi nobles and the *Zamindari* of Bajaji Nimbalkar(of Phaltan). After, Jai Singh had completed all his preparation of battle against Bijapur. On 23rd December, 1665 A.D., Jai Singh deputed Diler Khan, Raja Rai Singh, Qutbud din Khan, Fateh Jung Khan, Kirat Singh, Shivaji and others to Bijapur campaign. He divided Mughal army into different sides of Bijapur fort.[51]

Position of imperial commanders at Bijapur fort-

- Central wing under Jai Singh with 12000 troopers
- Van wing under Dilir Khan with entire artillery
- Right wing under Daud Khan with 6000 troopers
- Left wing under Raja Rai Singh Sisodia
- Left of the centre under Shivaji with 9000 troopers.[52]

[49] Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, op.cit.., p.84.

[50] J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.IV, opcit., p.122.

[51] Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*,p.112. *Haft Anjumann* did not follow strict chronological order of these battles, this source has not mentioned between 28th December and 25th January 1666 took place. J.N. Sarkar has pointed out that while the second battle is given in *Haft Anjumann*, f.87, the third battle is not given there, fourth in *Haft Anjumann*. 93b, while fifth given in *Haft Anjumann*., f.88 and that *Haft Anjumann*, is entirely silent on events after 27 January, 1666. This is not wholly correct. J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.IV, p.130.

[52] Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.II, op.cit., pp. 988-989.

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- Shivaji send Netuji with suitable contingent to reduce the fort of Parnala. After arrival of Netu at Parnala and he joined the advance of imperial army shook the possession towards the forest and fort. Siddaram Gowor was taking the charge of the fort with several thousand imperial troops as might be learnt from the newssheets.[53]

After two and three weeks fighting, Mangalvida and other forts were taken by imperial army.[54] Imperial army first contacted with the Bijapur army because Adil Khan concentrated all his forces near his capital and suffered Mughals to penetrate unmolested thus far from their own frontier. At the night of the same day, Bijapur army attacked fire rockets into Mughal camp.[55]

Yaqut, who was enemy's Abyssian soldier, was killed. Fourteen or fifteen captains were also joined Mughal service. One parasol (Chhatri) two standards, twenty horses and two swords were captured. Mughal army bravely deal with army of Bijapur.[56] After little success of Mughal army, Diler Khan was suffering from tireless energy so he and other officers returned to imperial camp.[57]

But army of Bijapur appeared again and galled them from all the sides. JadavRaodied in these circumstances. Jai Singh put up his heavy baggage and other property in fort of Mangalvide. Udat Singh Bhadauri was a *Qiledar* of this fort.[58]Sarfaraz Khan was the *faujdar* of this fort.[59]

Jai Singh and his army entered into the lands of Bijapur and the captured forts of Phaltan and Thāthvadā. When he resumed the advanced, Bijapuris army started using their famous and traditional guerrilla tactics.Enemies attacked on baggage of Jai Singh. His army fought back bravely.[60]

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[53]Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II, op.cit., p.191, Bhimsen gives different number of troopers of Mughal military officers as that Jai Singh took the charge of the army consisting of 15,000 cavalry, Dilir Khan had 12,000 horses. Daud Khan, Raja Sujan Singh Bundela eight thousand horsemen were divided into the left and right wingh, four thousand horsemen under the leadership of Kirar Singh, ff.28b-29a.

[54]Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II,op.cit., p.192, Mangal-Pahra (Persian) in *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*.

[55]J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.IV, op.cit., pp.130-131, Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, p.112.

[56] Ibid, p.131.

[57]Jadunath Sarkar, *A Short History of Aurangzeb*, New Delhi, 2009, p.192.

[58]Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, op.cit., p.995.

[59]Ibid, p.992.

[60]Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II, op.cit., p.194.

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On 27th December, Jai Singh once again started his march, he was leaving his camp under proper guard. Imperial army received the news that the right wing contingent of the enemy had made his appearance. Jai Singh sent Masud Beg Ali to that side for ascertainingthe truth of this news. Bijapur's cavalrymen tried to surround the Mughals, breaking into several loose bodies, each of which attacked its immediate opponents at the first notice of any weakness or disorder in the ranks of latter.[61]

When Qutubud din Khan with those left behind in charge of bag and baggage joined the army. Diler Khan had reached with the vanguard forces. He was summoned for the purpose of repelling those who appeared on the left side. Kirat Singh, Fateh Khan Jung and Shivaji proceeded in front of slaves. Achal Singh Kachchwaha with his soldiers of also proceeded further in full speed.[62]

He arrived within 12 miles of Bijapur. He had described this campaign in his own words that, "It had been learnt from the report of Mulla Muhammad Sādiq, Sāhib(envoy) of Bijapur and the submissions of certain reporters that the enemy troops are disunited and quarrelling among themselves; the fort of Bijapur has no protective works, no materials or provisions for standing a siege; and as soon as the imperial army arrives in that tract most of the nobles, pillars of state (*ārkān*) and gentry officers (*aiyān*) of the region will enter into the circle of imperial servants. Because of these occurrences' Ādil Khan would be brought down on his knees."[63]

He had collected the information about the chief features and suburbs of Bijapur fort that '1 [Jai Singh] shall devise my plans for accomplishment of my purpose'. He had postponed his action against Bijapur because he needs big artillery and war materials from Parenda fort. Then he reached the fort of Mangalvida.[64]Diler Khan proceeded with others on the right and left side. Raja Rai Singh was left hand of Diler Khan. Subh karan and Mitrasen Bundela were appointed on vanguard.[65]

[61] J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.IV, op.cit., p.132.
[62]Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, p.114.
[63]Ibid, p.109.
[64]This fort was strongly fortified, made of stone, extensive and high above the ground and it was on the river of Bhima, fifty-two miles north of Bijapur, Saqi Musta'idd Khan, Ma'asir-*i-Alamgiri*, pp.58-59.
[65]Saqi Musta'idd Khan, Ma'asir-*i-Alamgiri*, pp.58-59.

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Bijapur army was very advanced than mughal army.[66] Mughal army arrived within a distance of six kos from Bijapur. Jai Singh had taken decision of retreat because this situation was not in the favour of him. Adil Khan had used large army against imperial army. He had support from two powerful state of Deccan one was Qutub Shahi and second was Karnatak.[67]

He had opened the way for the cavalry and foot soldiers of the Karnatak and large army expected to arrive from Qutb-ul-mulk.[68]

Jai Singh watched and observed the situation and then he had taken the decision of retreat, he wrote about his difficulties that, "I was on the lookout for an opportunity to smash the accursed ones. Although I was always engaged in conflict, the object was not achieved."[69]When Jai Singh left from Bijapur, he left Sayyid Abdul Aziz with Udit Singh Bhadauriyah, horse and foot soldiers in the fort of Mangalvida. He decided to rest between the forts of Sholapur and Parenda, left his heavy baggage and advanced strategy against Bijapur.[70]

The Bijapuri army was begun with a distant fire of rockets and matchlocks. Mughal army were excited to come to close grips, and charged bravely with sword and spear, while the Deccanis gave way but kept up a Parthian fight for the six miles they were chased.After tough fight between Mughals and Bijapuris, Adil Shah's soldiers were more than a hundred dead, and many more injured.[71]

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[66]Bijapur army destroyed large buildings and cut the trees so Imperial army did not take shelter behind trees. Imperial army did not find any trace of the power of resistance in the enemy. This bore marks of defeat,Jagdish Narayan Sarkar,*The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general* pp.110-111.

[67]We have collected information about Ali Adil Shah's army from Rajasthani letter 'the enemy force consisted of four main armies, ... the Golkonda army, the karnatak army, Rajaram's army, and the Bijapur army, the first three having come to help of the Bijapur army.' Rajasthani letter no. 12, Parkaldas to Kalyandas, Friday, 23rd February, 1666, p.15 cited from *Shivaji's visit to Aurangzib at Agra*, tr. J.N. Sarkar and Raghubir Singh, Calcutta, 1963, p.19.

[68] Ibid. Sarkar wrote that " This was destined to be the furthest point of his advance, for here the first stage of the war ended and the second stage began, in which the Mughals were outnumbered and out-manoeuvred by Bijāpuris, totally lost the initiative and lived like a besieged camp as long they continued in hostile territory. By this time'Ali' ĀdilShāh II's military preparations had been completed , all his vassals from far and near had gathered under his banners, a wise plan of combined defence and reprisal had been been sketched in his capital and its environs had been rendered impregnable to attack", J.N. Sarkar,*History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.IV, p.133.

[69]Sarkar's paper entitled of The *Haft Anjuman* of Uday Raj Alias Tale'gar, Munshi of Mirza Rajah Jai Singh, *Bengal Past and present*, Calcutta, 1966, pp.111-122. J.N. Sarkar provided translation of *Hafi Anjumnn*, pp.110-117.

[70]Ibid, p.115.

[71]Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, op.cit., pp.114-115, 132-134.

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On 29December, Jai Singh arrived within twelve miles (20 Kilometres) of Bijapur. At this time first stage of war ended and second stage war started, in which Mughal army faced their defeat. Ali Adil Shah had completed his military preparations. His wise plan of combine security and revenge had been sketched, and his capital, its environs had been rendered impregnable to attack.[72]

Thirty thousand Karanatki infantry were regular garrison. Nauraspur and Shahpur were two large tanks of Bijapur, which supplied all needs of entire Mughal army.Bijapur army had been drained dry. Poison and carrion were thrown in the wells.[73] Jai Singh had recognised the chance of taking Bijapur. At this time Jai Singh faced very crucial time. The position of his army was critical. So his council war had given advice to retreat to him.[74] Jai Singh began his retreat on 5th January, 1666, he reached Sultanpur sixteen miles south of Parenda and halted their 24 days.[75]

On 16th January, 1666 A.D., Imperial army again started march towards Parenda. At that time, army of Bijapur was divided into different direction to attack Mughal army in 22nd January, 1666. They tried to confuse the Mughal army. But Jai Singh had taken steps with bravery and courage. A small group of enemies tried to make a severe assault on the person of Jai Singh. But luckily and speedily Rajput under Hemath Chauhan not only dispersed the enemy but also saved the life of his general from serious attack. In this battle twenty two soldiers of Hemanth Chauhan were injured and some died. Bijapur army lost one ninety men andtwo fifty were injured.

His Disasters

Jadunath Sarkar has described four Major disasters that befell the Mughals-

(1) Firstly on 12 January, when Sikandar (who was a brave Afghan soldier and the brother of Fath Jang Khan) was supplying provision material, munitions to Jai Singh's army. Bijapur army surprise attacked him from eight miles south of Parenda, he was cut down.[76]

[72] J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.IV, op.cit., p.134.
[73] Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.II, op.cit., p.998.
[74] J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.IV, op.cit., pp.134-135.
[75] Ibid, p.135.
[76] Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.II, op.cit., pp.1001-1002.

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(2) On 16th January 1666, Shivaji had own choice to make a diversion in the west by attacking Panhala. But Shivaji could not succeed in his plan andMughal army lost a thousand men.[77] He reached the fort of Panhala, delivered the assault on Panhala. However, before the garrison of the fort got information and offered a stubborn resistance. One thousand men of Shivaji killed and wounded. Next day in the morning, he continued his struggle and he compelled to withdraw his men from there. He reached Khelnā fort at a distance of sixty kos from there and stayed there. He sent his military troopers for the purpose of assault and plunder of this fort. He had received the glad tiding of imperial favours. At this time, he was much more active in his imperial service than before.[78]

(3) On 20th January, Netaji joined Bijapur army because he was not satisfied with Shivaji.[79]

(4) The last disaster but not the least of Mughal was of Golkonda sending 12,00cavalary and 40,000 infantry to assist Adil Shah.[80]

Now Jai Singh's position becamerisky. He had been two fights against Bijapur but he did not achieve any success. Then he had taken the decision of retreat. The battle of Lohri was very unsuccessful campaign. The Mughals lost one ninety men and two hundred fifty offended, also many Mughal horses, while the enemy's casualties exceeded four hundred killed and one thousand wounded.[81]

Diler Khan and Daud Khan had taken the responsibility of right and left wings respectively. They were attacked in succession by movable enemy in full force and had to be heavily toughened. So that the centre wing (under Jai Singh) was down. Army of Bijapur seized this opportunity to make an onset on soldiers of Jai Singh.[82]

After such battles were fought in less than a month (25th December 1665-22 January, 1666), his army was clearly no longer fit for further fight. So Jai Singh rested with his men at Sultanpur for twenty four days (27 January 1666-19 February 1666).

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[77]Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.II, op.cit., p.990, J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.IV, pp.136-137.
[78]Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, op.cit., p.109, it was the personal perception of Jai Singh.
[79]Rajasthani letter no.12, Parkaldas to Kalyandas, Friday, 23rd February, 1666, p.16, cited from *Shivaji Visit to Aurangzeb at Agra*, p.20, J.N. Sarkar,*History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.IV, p.137.
[80] J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.IV,op.cit., p.138.
[81]Ibid, p.139, Khafi khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II, p.197.
[82]J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.IV, op.cit., p.139.

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The Bijapur and Golkonda army were divided into four groups under Sharza, Khawas, Behlol and Abul Mohammad. They were finding the field clear and raised the various directions.[83]

On 3rd February, on hearing of siege of Mangalvide, Sharza Khan came with his six thousand cavalry to Mangalvide fort. Sarafaraz Khan did not follow the instruction of Jai Singh. Unfortunately, this fort came to in the hands of Adil Shah.[84]

Jai Singh had ordered Daud Khan and Qutb-ud-din Khan Keshgi with his right and rear divisions to go to its relief, "These generals wasted some days in vain discussion (*harf o hakaik*), and, when strongly pressed, they flatly refused to go unless the left wing (*maisara*) led by Rajah Rai Singh was sent with them. I could not but consent to it."[85]

Jai Singh followed implementation scheme, he was not free from difficulties. In starting, Aurangzeb had invested his expedition. At this time, his position was not strong by recalibration among his subordinates and disloyal officers. In fact, this situation was not in favour of him, he was very perturbed over this and tried to adopt remedial measures so that the unity of the Mughal army might not be hamper in any way.[86]

Feeling of jealousy had arisen among the imperial officers, also there was the problem of maintaining regular supplies of provisions and materials to it. Therefore, Jai Singh requested Aurangzeb to issue a *farman* entrusting task to Daud Khan. Further, insufficient and corrupt army was one of the main causes of the failure of this campaign. So he wrote to Aurangzeb that, "it is imperatively necessary to depute trustworthy *bakhshi* sand *waqainavises* in both the armies so that people may be called into account and that at the time of emergency they may not put forward lame excuses and seek safety there in."[87]

Jai Singh had given advice of retreat and Aurangzeb was informed of the situation. Aurangzeb gave order to him to cease operation against Bijapur. Once again

[83] Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.II, op.cit., p.1001, J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, pp.139-140.
[84] J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.IV, op.cit., p.132.
[85] Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*,op.cit., p.123.
[86] Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, op.cit., pp.1006-1007, Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, New Light on Mirza Raja Jai Singh's policy in Bijapur, p.752.
[87] Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, New Light on Mirza Raja Jai Singh's policy in Bijapur, p.754.

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he started the siege of Bijapur and began retreat to Aurangabad, imperial army was suffering from frequent attacks by Bijapur cavalry on the way.[88]

Bijapur army did give opportunity to Mughal army, they continued their fight. The raiding group of Bijapur was under Bahlol Khan and Netaji. In these days annexed Bidar-Kaliani districts could no longer be ignored.[89]

Last Struggle of Jai Singh

The last struggle was started against Bijapur, which was to end with his retreat to Bhum.[90] Jai Singh had decided that he would start the battle from small territories formed by Bhima on the west, the Manjira on the east, Dharur in the North and Tuljapur in the South. These battles were fruitless but bloody. All efforts of Mughal general werewasted, he did not achieve any success in his plan. Every time army of Bijapur were repulsed in the field and driven some distance off, they were not crushed. And enemies continued as before to float round the Mughal camp. Enemies were cut of struggle and became weak, forging groups and stop of arrival of supplies of Mughal army.[91]

During this time, the fortsof Dhoki, Gunjoti and Nilang were captured by Mughals. But this was not great success. On 16th May 1666, Jai Singh did nothave heavy bag and baggage, he started low division from the bank of the Manjira, which was near Dharur. DaraShev marched towards South. After Mughal army crossed the Sina encamped on the bank of the Bhim. Unfortunately, at this time Mughal army completely broke down and campaign had to be abandoned.[92]

Kazim had mentioned difficulties of Mughal general and army in the last days of battles in his work *Alamgirnama*-

"The soldiers were exhausted by privation, long marches, and heavy loss of horses and transport animals. The rainy season was near, and the Emperor wrote to Jai Singh

[88]Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II, op.cit., pp.196-198, Md. Ibrahim Zubairi, *Basatin-us-Salatin*, pp.415-428, *History of Deccan-Medival Period*, Vol.I, p.381.
[89]J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.IV, op.cit., pp.141-142.
[90]Bhum was situated thirty kilometers north-east to Parenda.
[91]J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.IV, op.cit., pp.142-143.
[92]Kazim, *Alamgirnama*,Vol.II, op.cit., pp.1008-1009, J.N. Sarkar,*History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.IV, p.143.

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to return to Aurangabad, Canton there for the monsoons and send a part of his army to the *jagirs* of his officers, where they could live in (greater) comfort."[93]

Final conclusion of Bijapur campaign was military failure. Mughal army could not occupy this territory. This defeat brought financial burden. Thirty lacks of rupees were spent on this campaign from Mughal treasury. Jai Singh spent one crore rupees from his own pocket. He wanted to pay advanced salary to his soldiers, convinced every petty Muslim captain or Maratha chieftains to join the Mughal service. He promised small and high *mansab* to them. Aurangzeb was angry, he rejected all recommendation of Jai Singh.[94]

After Shivaji escaped from Agra relations between Aurangzeb and Jai Singh became strained. First and second attempt of Jai Singh did not succeed. He demanded artillery and other battle weapons. Jai Singh became unhappy with emperor, he tried hard to retain the command of the Deccan army, so as to get another chance of retrieving his fame.[95]The final retirement of Jai Singh to Bir, he received orders to return to Aurangabad.[96] On 3rd March 1667, he was recalled to Mughal court and the governorship of Deccan was given to Prince Muzzam assisted by Jaswant Singh.[97]

Rajasthani letter gives us information that-

'Maharaja [Jai Singh] left his (rainy season) camp on 27 September and started for Aurangabad on 30 September. A *Farman* regarding the continuance of the four Deccan *subahs*(to him) has been received. The Maharaja has arrived in the vicinity of Bir and will soon arrive at Aurangabad.'[98]

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[93]Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, op.cit., p.1020.
[94] J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.IV, op.cit., pp.145-146.
[95]Ibid, pp.146-147.
[96]Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, op.cit., p.1021, Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II, pp.200-201.
[97]Ibid, p.1037, J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.IV, pp.147-148, Shyamaldas, *Vir Vinod*, Vol.II, pt.II, Delhi, 1986, p.1294.
[98]Rajasthani letter No.52, Harnath to Kalyandas, 18 October, 1666, 92 cited from J.N. Sarkar, and Raghubir Singh, *Shivaji visit to Aurangzeb at Agra (A collection of contemporary Rajasthani letters from Jaipur State Archive*), Calcutta, 1963,p.57.

Causes of his failure-

There were many causes behind his defeat in this expedition-

(i) The escape of Shivaji from Agra created problem for Jai Singh because his son Ram Singh was responsible for this event. It started doubt on their honesty in Aurangzeb heart.

(ii) Lack of money was one of the main causes of this defeat.

(iii) His war material and food supply were sufficient. The imperial officers at the base did not keep his regular supply with grain. Jai Singh had repeatedly insisted on the need of big siege guns but only few could be made available which were, certainly , not sufficient for war.[99]

(iv) Qutub Shah of Golkonda and many others joined Ali Adil Shah against Jai Singh.

(v) High officers were unreliable and refused delay in carrying out his orders.[100]

(vi) The very disadvantage of this campaign was delay of about five months to start and it was due to lack of money. Though he wanted to start at the earliest possible time so that Ali Adil Shah could get the minimum time for his self-protective arrangements.[101]

Jai Singh gives full efforts in this expedition. He was not only responsible for this defeat but also entire Mughal officers. Mughal officers did not fully support him. They delayed their flights. They did not take seriously Jai Singh's orders. In spite of that decision of retreat was wrong if Jai Singh and his army continued war may be situation would have changed. But decision of retreat was requirement of situation. Jai Singh did not take any initiative in this expedition. It was no doubt that he was expert in war policy.

According to Satish Chandra, "However Jai Singh was only Mughal politician who advocated an all-out forward policy in the Deccan during this period. Jai Singh

[99] Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*,op.cit., p.69.
[100] J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.IV, op.cit., p.149, Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*,117.
[101] Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, op.cit., p.88.

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was of the opinion that the Maratha problem could not be solved without a forward policy in the Deccan."[102]

Jai Singh explained his ideas on Bijapur expedition-

'If I had erected forts everywhere and left the thānāhdārsthere , it would have taken a long time, and a smaller number of people outside the shelter of the thānāh would have perished. The Emperor might have come to know of the harm done to the enemies and punishment meted out to them from place to place by the grace of God and through the good fortuneof the Emperor.'[103]

Jadunath Sarkar observed about Jai Singh's personality-

"The veteran Rajah, a past master in diplomacy to force expediency to might. He carefully evolved certain principles of policy and took action accordingly to cope with the complex situation in the Deccan."[104]

Recall and Jai Singh's death

Jai Singh had given the charge of Deccan to Prince Muazzam in May, 1667. When he arrived at Burhanpur he fell ill. His illness prolonged and proved to be deadly and he died on 28 August, 1667.[105]

Other Side Manucci and Shyamal Das repeat the gossip of bazaar that Aurangzeb caused poison to be given to the Jai Singh on the way back to imperial court.[106] But the reality was different, Jai Singh injured his leg while riding elephant and had slipped down. This injury became very serious which prolonged and ultimately proved fatal.[107]

Death of Jai Singh is a controversial issue among the historians. Contemporary sources had given different date of his death. We can see *Alamgirnama*, this source states that

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[102]Satish Chandra, *Medieval India*, Vol.II, op.cit., p.234.
[103]Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, op.cit., p.118.
[104]Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, Mirza Raja Jai Singh and Shivji, op.cit.,p.254.
[105]J.N.Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, op.cit., p.160, Rajasthanni letter No.68, Khafi Khan gives information about Jai Singh's illness in his account *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Vol.II, p.207, Bhimsen, *Nushka-i-Dilkusha*, f.32a.
[106]Manucci, *Storioa do Mogor* , Vol.II, op.cit., p.152, Shyamaldas, *Vir Vinod*, Vol.II, p.1294.
[107]*Akhbarat*, Year 10, VIII, p.425, cited from *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, pp.40-41.

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"On the 28th from the news letters of Burhanpur the Emperor learnt that Raja Jai Singh of death in the city."[108]

We can see other source *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, Saqi Musta'iid Khan says that

"It was learnt from the letters of the reporters of Burhanpur that Raja Jai Singh was coming from Aurangabad to the court when on arriving there, he died on 28th Muharram Julus year 1077."[109]

Rajasthani letters gives different date

'Your letter has been received reporting that the Maharaja (Jai Singh) died on Wednesday, 28 August, 1667. It is great calamity.'[110]

Travellers account also gives different date, Bernier says that

'Raja Jai Singh Idied at Burhanpur on the 10th July 1667.'[111]

Contemporary sources did not given the reason about Jai Singh's death. Manucci and Shyamal Das give same reason of his death. Shyamal Das believed that Aurangzeb could give poison to Jai Singh. [112]

A Jaipur record presented different picture of his death-

On 22 Jamadi-ul-Awwal, / 10 October, 1667, Aurangzeb asked Kirat Singh how the deceased Mirza Raja got his wound on the leg. Kirat Singh replied, 'One day he was riding an elephant when he slipped his feet on the stepsand got wounded. As a result his leg was wounded. From that day his illness started. After a few days, by God's will, he died.'[113]

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[108]Kazim, *Alamginamah*, op.cit.,.p.1051, but this source did not give the month.

[109]Saqi Musta'idd Khan, *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, op.cit., p.63.

[110]Rajasthani letter No.68, Ajitdas to Kalyandas, 14 September, 1667, p.115, cited from *Shivaji Visit to Aurangzeb at Agra*, p.64, Sarkar wrote in *Shivaji and his time*, "The Rajput veteran set out on his homeward journey in extreme misery of mind and sense of public humiliation, and died on the way at Burhanpur on 2nd July, J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his time*, second edition, London, 1920, p.180, Sarkar had written his other work *A Short History of Aurangzeb* that, ' Jai Singh died from an accidental fall from his elephant on reaching Burhanpur, on 18 August, 1667 A.D.', p.195.

[111]Francois Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire 1656-1668*, tr. Archibald Constable, New Delhi, 2004, pp.34-35, Shahnawaz Khan, *Ma'asir-ul-Umara* says that, 'In the 10th year, 1077 A.H., he died at Burhanpur, Vol.III, p.577.

[112]Shyamaldas, *VirVinod*,op.cit., p.1294.

[113]Akhbārāt, year 10, VIII, 425 cited from*The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*,p.41, Bhimsen gives own views about Jai Singh, 'That man never dies whose heart has been illuminated with the light of love and whose marks are prominently engraved on the time of the word.' ff.32a-b, tr. J.N. Sarkar, *Tarikh-i-Dilkusha*, ed. V.G. Khobrekar, Department of Archives, Maharashtra, Bombay, 1972, p.53.

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Mughal Empire lost a powerful general. His place could not occupy of anyone. He gives supplied full of strength in the Deccan campaigns. Bijapur campaign was a first defeat of his whole military career.

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CHAPTER-V:

Mirza Raja Jai Singh: Role as an administrator

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Chapter-V

Mirza Raja Jai Singh: Role as an administrator

Mirza Raja Jai Singh was a spectacularly successful politician and general, fought important expeditions under Shahjahan and Aurangzeb. His reign was important for his other activities as literature, art and architecture. He spent some time in his capital of Amber, but was still able to make substantial additions to the city and ensure that culturally the Amber court mirrored the Mughal one.[1] Man Singh and Jai Singh were two famous names in Kachawahas history in 16th and 17th century. They were not only interesting in battles and politics but also cultural activities. They did not stay in their state but they were involved their activities in capital. They received highest *mansab* from Mughal rulers. M.L. Sharma says that, "The accession of Jai Singh heralded a new age of power and prosperity for house of Amber."[2]

Moreland described Jai Singh's promotion in the Mughal service in his article '*Rank (mansab) in the Mughal state service*' that, "Promotion in the service might take one of three forms, in personal rank, in trooper rank or in 2-3 h. Rank; and the subject may be illustrated by a sketch of the career of Raja Jai Singh of Amber, whom we shall met again. Jai Singh succeeded as Raja in 1621, but he was then too young for service, and was appointed to the comparatively modest rank of 2000 personal 1000 troopers, or as I shall write for brevity, 2000/1000. Two years later he was ready to serve, and started on his active career as 3000/1400. Soon after ShahJahan's accession he was promoted to 4000/3000, then 4000/4000, then 5000/4000, and then, in the tenth regnal year, 5000/5000."[3]

Raja Jai Singh's land to utilised for Taj Mahal

Shahjahan issued a *Farman* to Jai Singh for his land was selected as the burial place of Queen Mumtaz, conferred on him in exchange four other mansion out of the imperial properties.[4]

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[1]Catherine B. Asher and Cynthia Talbot, *India before Europe*, Delhi, 2016. p.211.
[2]M.L. Sharma, *History of Jaipur State*, Jaipur, 1969, p.92.
[3]W.H. Moreland, Rank (mansab) in the Mogul State Service, *The Mughal State 1526-1750*, ed. Muzaffar Alam, Sanjay Subrahmanym, Delhi, 1998, p.214.
[4]Inayat Khan, *ShahJahannama*, ed. W.E. Begley and Z.A. Desai, Delhi, 1990, pp.73-74,Qazwini, *Badshahnama*, pt-b, Rotograph (R No-191), Rieu i/258 b, B.M MS. No.or.173, C.A.S. Department of History, A.M.U., Aligarh, ff.235a-b, Ebba Koch, *The Complete Taj Mahal and the river front gardens of Agra*, New Delhi, 2006, p.28, *The Grove Encyclopedia Islamic Art and Architecture*, Vol.I, ed. Jonatham M. Bloom, Sheila S. Blair, New York, 2009, pp.31.

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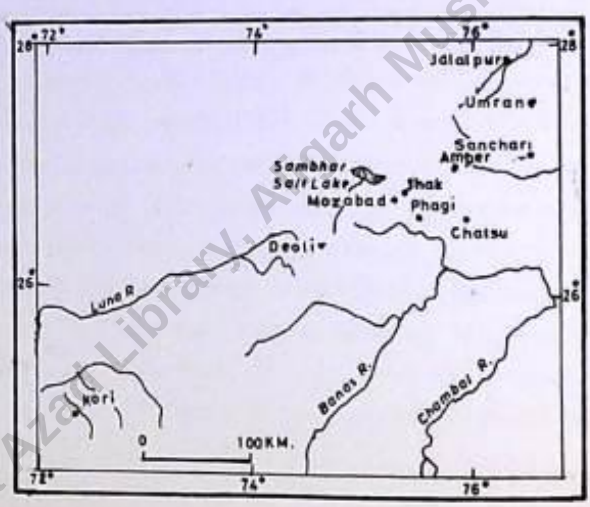
Four *havelis* have been granted in compensation of the land given by the Maharaja for the construction of the tomb of Mumtaz Mahal. The *havelis* are: 1.Haveli of Raja Bhagwandasmakar, 2.*Haveli* of Madho Singh makar, 3.*Haveli* of Rupsi Bairagidar *muhalla bazaar* Tekka Khan makar and 4. *Haveli* of Chand Singh son of Suraj Singh in the same *muhalla* which was conferred on the Raja.[5]

As An Administrator

Mirza Raja Jai Singh not only held important commands in military campaigns but also received extensive *Jagirs*. He held important administrative posts.[6] A number of *Farmans* and *Nishans* throw light on administrative duty of Jai Singh.[7]

***Parganas* held in *Jagir* by Mirza Raja Jai Singh**



Mughal expansion reinforced the rise of the Rajput-ruled kingdom of Amber. Jai Singh was appointed the *subedar* of Akbarabad (Agra) and the *faujdar* of Mathura in 1631. In 1643, he obtained 14 *Mahals* (*Parganas*) of Mewa in *tankhwah Jagir* that

[5] GN Bahura, Chandramani Singh, *Catalogue of Historical Documents in Kapad Dwara*, Jaipur , 1988, pp.25-26.
[6] Nurul Hasan, Further light on Zamindars under the Mughals-A case study of (Mirza) Raja Jai Singh under Shahjahan, *P.I .H.C.*, Hyderabad, 1978, p.497.
[7] Ibid.

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is, land in lieu of salary. He also acquired a large area on *ijara* (lease) from other imperial *mansabdars* in his addition to his *watan* or ancestral domain.[8]

He had got *pargana* Chatsu in *Jagir* in1627 A.D.[9] In 1650, he held a *jagir* worth eighty twenty lacs of *dams* in the *parganas* Phagi (Phaguli), Mozabad (Mazamabad, Mauzabad), Jhag, Amber, Deyoli, Sanchari[10], Bharkol, Jalalpur, Umran, Sarkars, Bawal and Jat Kalyewa. He was assigned *jagirs* in different *parganas* near his *watan jagir* for a short time.[11]

Appendix –A: *Farman* (dated 28 Zi-l-Kada, 1039 A.H./ 29th June, 1630 A.D.) issued by Shahjhan to Raja Jai Singh

Source: *Farasi Farmano ke prakash mai Mughalkalian Bhart evam Rajput Sashak*, Vol.I, p.44

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[8]Shail Mayarom, *Against History, Against State*, Counter perspective of Margins, New Delhi, 2006, p.102.
[9]Qazwani, *Badshahnama*, pt-c,op.cit., f.404a.
[10]*Farasi Farmano ke prkash mai Mughalkalian Bharat evam Rajput Sashak*, Vol.I, Hindi tr. Shujauddin Khan Naqshbandi, ed. Mahendra Khadgawat, Rajasthan State Archive, Bikaner, 2010, pp.44-45, Appendix-A.
[11]Satya Prakash Gupta, Expansion of the territory in Mughal Times, *P.I.H.C*, Allahabad, 1965, pp.177-178, unfortunately some plots cannot be defined in map. it seems that its name change with the times, maybe it is possible that these plots destroyed.

Nurul Hasan has divided his administrative duties into five categories on the bases of *Farmans*.

Assistance in the relation of Revenue of *Khalsa Mahals*

(1) *Farman* No- old no.45/new no.34, Dated 20th Muharram,1047 A.H./4th June 1637 A.D.-

Some of *ryots* of the *mahals* of *pargana* Hindaun, which is *Khalisa*, are remitted in payment of revenue. Since this is near your *jagirs*, you should help the *karori* in realising revenue and in giving exemplary punishment to truculent elements.[12]

Appendix – B: *Farman* (dated 20 Muharram, 1047 A.H./ 4th June, 1637 A.D.) issued by Shahjhan to Raja Jai Singh

Source: *FFPMBRS*, Vol. I, p.74

(2) *Farman* No- old no.55/new no.41, Dated 6 Zi-l-Ka'da, 1049 A.H./18 February 1640 A.D.-

[12]Nurul Hasan, Further light on Zamindars under the Mughals-A case study of (Mirza) Raja Jai Singh under Shahjahan, op.cit., p.499, *FFPMBRS*,Vol.I, pp.74-75, *A Descriptive List of Farmans, manshurs and Nishans*, ed.N.R. Khadgawat, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner, 1962, p.5, Appendix-B.

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Since the undermentioned *parganas* have been taken in *Khalisa* with effect from July 1639, you should look after theses and ensure that no one oppresses the *ryots* of these *parganas*. The *Karoris* of these *mahals* should be assisted in realising imperial revenues. *Pargana*: Khandar in *Sarkar* Ranthambor, Silawa and Toda in *pargana* Bijwara.[13]

(3) *Farman* No- old no.63/new no.46, Dated 18 Rajab, 1049 A.H./24th October 1640 A.D.-

It has been reported that in *Pargana* Chatsu, in which Jai Singh also has *Jagir*, the realisation of revenue from *Khalisa* has fallen in arrears and the *ryots* are avoiding making payment. He should make urgent efforts to realise the arrears of revenue, otherwise these would be deducted from the *jagirs* of Jai Singh.[14]

(4) *Farman* No- old no.68/new no.51, Dated 5 Shawwal,1053 A.H./7 December 1643 A.D.-

It is reported that in *pargana* Mu'izzmabad and in other *mahals* of Jai Singh's *jagir* salt is being manufactured. As a result of this the *Khalisa* revenue from the salt of Sambhar has fallen by more than rupees 1 lac. Jai Singh was ordered to ensure that manufacturers of salt should be stopped forth with, failing which these *Parganas* would be transferred from him.[15]

Assistance to Princes and other *Jagirdars* in the realization of revenue

(1) *Farman* No- old no.47/new no.36, Dated 12 Rabi-ul-Akhir,1047 A.H./24th August 1637 A.D.-

The Imperial servant Yazdani has reported that Hariday Ram Kachwaha and Sardul Kachwaha, former *jagirdars* of kala Khoh and other villages of *pargana* Sahar, are preventing Yazdani from realising revenue of these villages now assigned to him. Hariday Ram is trying to bring back the turbulent Chuhans who had been expelled. Further, the *jagir* assigned to

[13] Nurul Hasan, Further light on Zamindars under the Mughals-A case study of (Mirza) Raja Jai Singh under Shahjahan, op.cit., p.499, p.499, *DLFMN*, p.6, *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I, pp.88-89.

[14] Ibid, p.499, *DLFMN*, p.7, *FFMBRS*, Vol.I, p.98-99. Nurul Hasan gives wrong name of Jai Singh *Pargana*, its Chatsu not Jalalpur, Appendix-C.

[15] We have also collected information from *Arzdasht*, but date is different 24th July, 1650, *Jaipur Arzdasht (Rajisthani)* V.S. 1687 to 1743, ed. J.K. Jain, Rajasthan State Archive of Bikaner, Bikaner, 1981, p.21, Nurul Hasan, Further light on Zamindars under the Mughals-A case study of (Mirza) Raja Jai Singh under Shahjahan, pp.499-500, *DLFMN*, p.6, *FFPBMRS*, Vol.I, pp.108-109, Appendix-D.

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Yazdani in *Pargana* Gijgarh is being occupied by Jai Singh's men from Babra.[16]

(2) *Farman* No- old no.56/new no.42, Dated 2 Zi-l-hijja,1049 A.H./15 March 1640 A.D.-

Narhar Sanghi is a*mustajir*[17](tenant) of *pargana* Sambhar, has reported that he is facing difficulty in realising imperial revenues. He should be assisted.[18]

(3) *Farman* No- old no.57/new no.43, Dated 24th Zi-l-hijja,1049 A.H./6 April,1640 A.D.-

Khan-i-Khanan should be assisted in realising revenues from his *jagir* in *Sarkar* Alwar, Audchi and Mandawar in *Sarkar* and *suba* Agra, Kirki in *Sarkar* Ranthambore *Suba* Ajmer.[19]

Suppression of disorder elements

(1) *Farman* No- old no.39/new no.28, Dated 1stJamad-al-Awwal,1042 A.H./6 March,1632 A.D.-

Ratan Singh Kachwaha has reported that in *Parganas* of Roshanpur and Naraina, which he holds in *jagir*, some Rajput *Zamindars* are unnecessary interfering and have killed some innocent people. Jai Singh should look into the matter and obtain assurance that they should not do such a thing again. If they resist and show turbulence, they should be expelled from their *Zamindari* so that there is no further oppression.[20]

(2) *Farman* No- old no.49/new no.38, Dated 27Zi-l-Hijja,1047 A.H./2nd May,1632 A.D.-

Some Chauhanand Jadou *Zamindars* of *pargana* Dyoti Sanchari have joined hands with Sabal Singh and Parsram etc. Badgujars, who are turbulent, and troublemakers, and who have been brought to the *pargana* by Jai Singh. These should be expelled so that no one in the *Pargana* is oppressed. If anyone gives shelter to these trouble-makers, he should be punished.[21]

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[16]Nurul Hasan, Further light on Zamindars under the Mughals-A case study of (Mirza) Raja Jai Singh under Shahjahan, op.cit., p.500, *DLFMN*, p.6, *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I, pp78-79.
[17]F.Steingass, *A comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, New Delhi, 2011, p.1227.
[18]Further light on Zamindars under the Mughals-A case study of (Mirza) Raja Jai Singh under Shahjahan, op.cit., p.500, *DLFMN*, p.7, *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I, pp.90-91.
[19]Ibid, *DLFMN*, p.7, *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I, pp.92-93.
[20]Ibid, *DLFMN*, p.5, *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I, pp.62-63, Firdos Anwar, *Nobility under Mughals (1628-1658)*, New Delhi, 2001, p.89.
[21]Ibid, *DLFMN*, p.12, *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I, pp.82-83.

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(3) *Farman* No- old no.76/new no.58, Dated 12 Rajab,1060 A.H./1st july,1650 A.D.-

Directing the Raja is to take measures to eradicate recalcitrant elements (Meos) from the village Kaman & Pahari. They should be suppressed and killed.[22]

(4) *Farman* No- old no.77/new no.59, Dated 2 Shawwal,1060 A.H./18th September,1650 A.D.-

Action should be immediately taken against the trouble-makers of Kaman and Pahari so that they may not oppress the people. Kirat Singh, Jai Singh's son, is being appointed *Faujdari-mustagil* (substantive faujdar) for this purpose. Under his jurisdiction would be 44 *mahals*: *Khalisa*-7 *mahals* in sukerTijara; *jagirs*-37 *mahals* in *Sarkar* Rewari, Alwar, Tijara, Rewari and Narnaul. This included the *jagirs* of Jai Singh.[23]

Appendix –C: *Farman* (dated 2 Shawwal,1060 A.H./18th September,1650 A.D.) issued by Shahjahn to Auraugzeb

Source: *FFPMBRS*, Vol. I, p.124

[22]Inayat Khan, *Shahjahamama*, op.cit, pp.449-450, Nurul Hasan,Further light on Zamindars under the Mughals-A case study of (Mirza) Raja Jai Singh under Shahjahan, p.501, *DLFMN*, p.9, *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I, pp.122-123.

[23]Nurul Hasan, Further light on Zamindars under the Mughals-A case study of (Mirza) Raja Jai Singh under Shahjahan, op.cit., p.501, *DLFMN*, p.9, *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I, pp.124-125. Appendix-C.

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Assistance in safe transit of imperial treasures

(1) *Farman* No- old no.71/new no.54, Dated 19 Zi-I-Kada,1056 A.H./18th December, 1646A.D.-

Jai Singh to collect rupees 100, 00,000 from the tahvil of Jawahar Khan and 2, 80,000*ashrafis* from the tahvil of Khwaja Rozbahan and carry it from Agra to the court in Lahore.[24]

(2) *Farman* No- old no.83/new no.63, Dated 29 Rajab,1064 A.H./5thjune, 1654A.D.-

Jai Singh arrange for the safe transport of 2 crores of dams from pargana Mirat to the court.[25]

Regarding despatch of marble and stone-cutters to Agra

(1) *Farman* No- old no.38/new no.27, Dated 4 Rabi-ul-Awwal,1042 A.H./9th September 1632A.D.-

Mulk Shah is being sent to Amber to arrange for the transport of marble from new quarries. Jai Singh should arrange for *arabas*, assist Muluk Shah and reimburse the cost from imperial exchequer.[26]

(2) *Farman* No- old no.34/new no.25, Dated 9 Rajab,1041A.H./21stJanuary 1632,A.D.-

Allahdad Khan was deputed to arrange for the transport of marble for building purpose at Akbarabad. A large number of transports were for bringing marble from Makrana for the buildings of Agra. Jai Singh should procure these from his own and from the *jagirs* of his relatives.[27]

[24]Nurul Hasan, Further light on Zamindars under the Mughals-A case study of (Mirza) Raja Jai Singh under Shahjahan, op.cit., p.501,*DLFMN*, p.8, *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I, pp.114-115.
[25]Nurul Hasan, Further light on Zamindars under the Mughals-A case study of (Mirza) Raja Jai Singh under Shahjahan, op.cit., p.501, *DLFMN*, p.9, *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I, pp.132-133.
[26]Ibid, *DLFMN*, p.4, *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I, pp.60-61.
[27]Ibid, pp.501-502, *DLFMN*, p.4, *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I, pp.56-57, Appendix-D.

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Appendix –D: *Farman* (dated 9 Rajab,1041A.H./21st January 1632, A.D.) issued by Shahjahan to Raja Jai Singh

Source: *FFPMBRS*, Vol. I, p.56

(3) *Farman* No- old no.46/new no.35, Dated 7 Safar, 1047 A.H./21st june, 1637A.D.-

A number of stone-cutters have been assembled by Jai Singh in Amber and Raj Nagar. This has caused shortage in Makrana. These should all be sent to Makrana,[28]

[28]Nurul Hasan, Further light on Zamindars under the Mughals-A case study of (Mirza) Raja Jai Singh under Shahjahan, op.cit., p.502, *DLFMN*, p.5, *FFPMBRS*, Vol.I, pp.76-77.

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His Cultural Activities

Raja Jai Singh introduced a new cultural phase at Amber. His patronage was not confined to a single language. He had acquired knowledge of *Persian, Turkish, Sanskrit* and *Urdu*.[29] He possessed extra-ordinary intelligent and soon developed his efficiency in these language together with his studies in history, geography, mathematics, politics, court-etiquette and in skill of warfare. He was a very good horseman and knew the use of weapons.[30] His contribution in literature and poetry is excellent. *Jaisinghestuti I* is present a exact picture of Raja Jai Singh-

महाराजाधिराजजैसिंघस्तुतिपभर

(II)हरादीरय नूनश्रांतंकृतहस्त्रि होलविलसामाराणयेरा

यनः ।भीकांचीपुर छ प्रनिसवसतिः श्रीव्यंकटा र्या धरी ।

(III) विज्ञानंवकरीलिखेस नध धीविज्ञापना पत्रिका

(IV) ।।'।। श्रीरामानुजस्त्र त्रि मौत्रिद्द कमणिश्रेणीपरि

कप्कप्रिणो धीरामा।

(V) राजात्वंजर्यरस धैसाधुरवनराजानसिद्धोन्नति।[31]

Behari, Kulpati and Narottam were famous Hindi poets, they enriched literature under the patronage of Jai Singh. Kulpati was the nephew of Bihari.Narottam wrote the single surviving copy of *Manchrit*[32]at the request of Jai Singh.[33]Manchrit is one of the indications of his interest in the *riti* literature and poetry. *RasikPriya*[34] was illustrated manuscript of Keshavdas, it was written for Jai Singh's wife Chandravatiji. Some lines of *RasikPriya* here-

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[29]Catherine B.Asher, Excavating communalism: Kachhwaha Rajadharma and Mughal sovereignty, *Rethinking A millennium: Perspective on Indian History from the eighth to eighteenth century*, ed. Rajat Datta, Delhi, 2008, p.228.

[30]*Jaisinghestuti I* (*Sanskrit* poetry), Pothikhana of Jaipur (Khasmohar collection), M.S. No.599, verses-2, city palace library, Jaipur, f.2, M.L. Sharma, p.92, G.N. Bahura, *Literary Heritage of The Rulers of Amber and Jaipur*,p.37-38, Shaukat Ali Khan, History and Historians of Rajasthan, Delhi, 1981, p.46.

[31]*Jaisinghestuti* (poetry), M.S. No.599, f.2.

[32]Narottam, *MancharitaRāso* M.S. no. 1977, 1697 V.S./1640 A.D., city place library, Jaipur, it is the second manuscript. The first *Manchrit* (M.S. no. 1901) was composed by Amitraj and AmitRai the date of composition 1642 V.S./1584 A.D.

[33]Allison Busch, *Poetry of Kings The classical Hindi literature of Mughal India*, New York, 2011, p.173.

[34]Keshav Das, *RasikPriya* ,m.s. no.4/39-1847, dated 1646 V.S./1639 A.D. I have found many colourful paintings in this manuscript. These paintings have*Krishna* and *gopis*, cows and flowers od varied designs and many colures (Red, Yellow, green, black and sky blue), ff.22-24, Ashok Kumar Das, Court Painting for the Amber Rulers Circa 1590-1727, *Court Painting in Rajasthan*, ed. Andrew Topsfield, Mumbai, 2000, p.44.

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(1) जले रक्ष मेंलरक्ष्यं रक्ष्प रिथलवंधनिः
मुर्षहस्ले न दानव्यं एवंवर्दतिपुस्तक

(2) कोइतुिक की –अक्षर की मात्रा की चलहोई
सुमुनेदास नहीः लीषंत
जोसीस्पामौदासश्रावैरिषास१६६६ [1696 V.S./1639 A.D.]
श्रावडगैकृह्यनिधुपका पत्रीः सोमवासरे
जै सिंह राजेः[35]

Bihari was a famous *braj* poet, he enriched poetry work under the patronage of Jai Singh, whose single surviving work *BihariSatsai*[36](his collection of seven hundred verses) is one of the pinnacles of *Riti* poetry.Bihari gives couplet (*Dohas*) about Jai Singh's campaigns.[37]

'जदअठैदिल्लीमेंपातसा द्वारासाराजाजैसिंघजीनूंफौज देय नैसाहसूजेसामाविदाकियौ। .... सूजैसिंघजीतोजाय साहसूजेसूंमनसोभोकियोजोअनाहकआपांक्यूलड़ाईकरराछां म्हां के तोथेपातसाहजीकासायजादाच्यारूंबराबर सिरधणी (मालिक) छो। अरू अजेसपातसाहजीविराजेहै।'[38]

He introduced Panditaraja Jagannath (he was the author of *Ganga Lahari* and *Rasagagandharaa*) in the court of Shahjahan. He was also interested in other branches of learning as grammer, *Puranas*, *Jyotish*, *Prosody*, *Kosa*, *Kavyas* and *Katha-akhyayikas* by *Nilakantha*,*Vishnu-purana* with *Vais'nava-Kuta-ChandrikaTika* by Ratnagrabha Bhattacharya, these are very important sources during his time and bearing the seal of *Persian* of Jai Singh dated 1059 A.H.. Manohar Mahatma was his favourite scribe.[39]

He was founder of a Sanskrit college at Banaras. This college gave education to the youth and to which he sent his sons [Ram Singh, Kirat Singh] for their

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[35] *Rasakpriya*, Ms. No. 4/39 – 1847.$\frac{32}{204}$, 5/39 1966 - $\frac{47}{219}$
Pothikhana of Jaipur, Khasmohar Collection, city Palace Library, Jaipur, f. 24.

[36] Bihari, *BihariSatsai*, m.s. no. 1581, dated 1714 V.S./1657 A.D., City Place library, Jaipur, Allison Busch, p.174, G.N. Sharma, *Rajasthan Studies*, ed. Lalshmi Narayan Agarwal, Agra, 1985, p.51, Ashok Kumar Das, Court Painting for the Amber Rulers, circa 1590-1727, *Court Painting in Rajasthan*, ed. Andrew Topsfield, Mumbai, 2000, p.44.

[37] Rajiv Amar Singh, Medieval History of Rajasthan, Vol.II, Bikaner, 2005, p.93.

[38] Ibid.

[39] G.N.Bahura, *Literary Heritage of The Rulers of Amber and Jaipur*, Jaipur, 1976, p.38.

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education.[40] He brought Pandit Jagannath to Amber, where Jai Singh being pleased, took him to the imperial court. Shahjahan appointed him as a tutor to Dara Shukoh and conferred all his favours the *Pandit* and he passed his youth under the patronage of him (Shahjahan).[41]

He had organised a *Pandit-Sabha* [Assembly of Scholars] at his own court at Amber, the members of this meeting were front ranking scholars of *Dharma-s astra*.[42] He had collected the manuscripts of important Sanskrit dramas like *Shakuntalam* of *Kalidas* and *Ratnavali* of Shri Harsa with their *Hindi* rendering and commentaries in *Sanskrit*.[43]

His son [Ram Singh]'s contribution in poetry is the most valuable. He also interested in Sanskrit learning with all its branches.[44] Shri Krishna Bhatta had given the account of his literary, cultural and military achievements in his *Is'varavilāsaKāvya-*

काव्यालापकलाकलापकलनाकौतूहलोत्कर्षकः
प्रौद्यन्नाटकसाटकप्रहसनाख्यानप्रबन्धोत्सुकः
श्रीरामायणभारतादिविलसत्पौरारावाग्विस्तर
श्रीराम्भोनिधिराजहंसरूचिरः श्रीरामसिंहोनृपः[45]

'He always excited curiosity through poetic discourses on various kinds of dramas, stories and other literary composition. Ram Singh was like a swan who picked up the precious gems from the vast milky ocean of literature contained in the Rāmāyana, Mahābhārata and the Purānas.[46]'

He was also interested in drama and ancient literature. Harijiwan Mishra was a famous dramatist belonging to the time of Raja Jai Singh and Ram Singh. Prananatha S'rotriya, Ramchandra Dube and RupaKavi, Nandana, Dunaraj were other Hindi poets in Ram Singh's time. [47]

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[40]Sumbul Halim Khan, *Art and craft workshops under the Mughals, A study of Jaipur Karkhanas*, Delhi, 2015, p.46, Catherine B.Asher, Excavating communalism: Kachhwaha Rajadharma and Mughal sovereignty, p.228.
[41]G.N. Bahura, *Literary Heritage of the rulers of Amber and Jaipur*, op.cit, p.38.
[42]Ibid., p.39.
[43]Ibid.
[44]Ibid. p.42, G.N. Sharma,*Rajasthan Studies*, p.51.
[45]Ibid.
[46]Ibid.
[47]G.N. Bahura, *Literary Heritage of the rulers of Amber and Jaipur*, op.cit., pp.477.

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Persian garden carpet (*char-bhag*-1632 A.D.)

The magnificent Persian Garden Carpet (Char Bagh) purchased in 1632 AD by Mirza Raja Jai Singh from Persian king Shah Abbas. It is 28' 4" by 12' 4' size is of a Persian garden is replete with designs of ponds, sectioned gardens, water tank and other animals, including a dragon. This carpet is available in Albert Museum at Jaipur.[48]

Source: Albert Museum Hall, Gallery collection, Accesssion no add/p/681/2225

Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University

[48]Based on physical survey, Albert Museum Hall, Gallary collection, Accession No. add/p/681/2225, Jaipur.

Painting-

The first *Ragamala* to be ascribed to Amber have been painted during the reign of Mirza Raja Jai Singh.[49] His artists trained in Mughal style.[50] O.K. Taknet says that, "The Amber style of paintings is characterised by use of colours such as geru, safeda and Kuluns. Red and black predominate and paintings are flat and one-dimensional."[51]

In the 17th century, Rajasthani painters were confronted with two contradictory sets of traditional instructions. One was the composition of the *Ragamala* and second was the composition of single *Ragmala* painting.[52]Amber rulers had to establish their own workshop with personal painters who were trained in high Mughal style. Other thing is that different styles of painting were found in Amber. Bhagavata *Puranas* and *Ragamalas* are two series of painting of Amber which depict moods (*rasas*) established by the playing of raga musical modes, and other types of paintings style of Jain traditions and classical Hindu.[53]

The women of this period are characterised by donning the *Rajasthani* style of the *ghaghra* and *odhni* and adorned in Mughal ornaments similar to those seen in the *chaghtai* women. Miniature is more geometric like the murals and possibly their artists were immersed in the technique of the folk art of *Mandanain* of this period.[54]

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[49]Klaus Ebeling, *Ragmala Painting*, New Delhi, 1973, p.42.
[50]Falk. And Digby,s. *Paintings from Mughal India*, London, 1979, p.19.
[51] O.K. Taknet, *Jaipur Gem of India*, ed. Razia Grover, Nandita Bhardwaj, Monica Arora, Jaipur, 2013, p.316.
[52]Klaus Ebeling,*Ragmala Painting*,op.cit., p.18.
[53]Catherine B. Asher and Cynthia Talbot,India before Europe, op.cit, p.213..
[54]Based on physical Survey, Albert museum, collection of *Ragmala* paintings, Jaipur.

Source: this painting preserved in Albert Museum of Jaipur *Raga* with his wife listening to music.[55]

Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University

[55]Based on physical survey, *Ragmala* collection, Albert Museum, , Jaipur.

Architecture under Jai Singh

Man Singh and Jai Singh are two famous names in Kachhwahas history for their architecture activities. They did not stay in their state but still they were involved in activities of their capital. Their period was new era of architecture in Amber. Man Singh was the founder of Amber fort and Jai Singh made further additions and the palace was completed. Two famous halls are in Amber fort. These halls are *Diwan-i-Khas* (Hall of Private Audience) and *Diwan-i-Aam* (Hall of Public Audience).

Diwan-i-Aam-

The second courtyard of Amber palace is a *Diwan-i-Aam* (Public Audience Hall) constructed by Mirza Raja Jai Singh.[56]I have founded in *Diwan-i-Aam* that the Mughal and Rajput styles of architecture but Rajput architecture is main feature of this building such as beautiful ornaments are carved patterns of elephants head and vines. This hall was divided into three sections, nine bold arches. It is constructed by red sand stone and is coated with white shell plaster. This white plaster was like a white marble.[57]Floral designs in round shapes are found in this hall. Ceiling is a distinctive construction, the four curved sides rise towards a central, flat rectangle. This design is founded commonly in Rajput and Mughal architecture.[58]

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[56]Catherine B.Asher, Excavating communalism: Kachhwaha Rajadharma and Mughal sovereignty, op.cit, p.229.
[57] O.K. Taknet, *Jaipur: Gem of India*, op.cit., p.38.
[58] G.H.R. Tillotson, *The Rajput Places The development of an architectural style 1450-1750*, Delhi, 1987, p.98, physical survey of Amber fort, 16 December, 2016.

This picture shows the designs of ornaments are covered with patterns of elephant head and vines.

Roof design of *Diwan-i-Aam*

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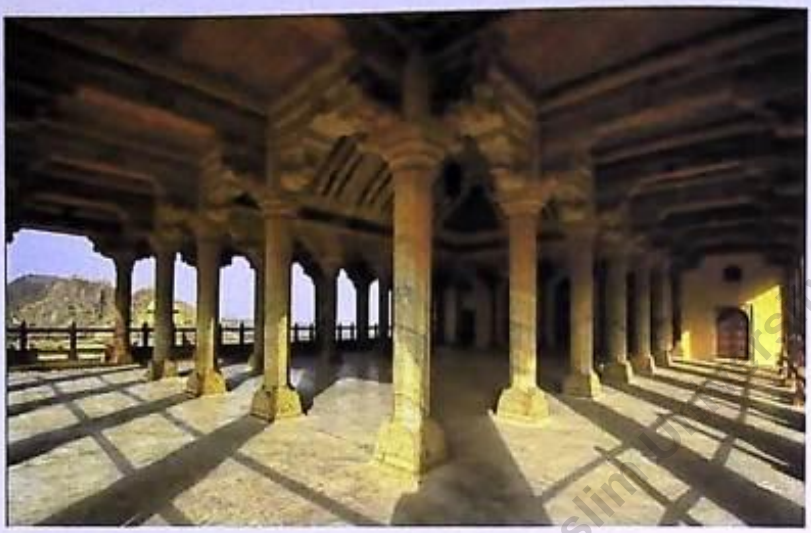

This is the complete view of *Diwan-i-Aam*

Sheesh Mahal

One of the building attractions of the Amber palace is the *Sheesh Mahal* also called Jai Mandir. This building was constructed by Jai Singh. It is the best example of his architecture activities. It is the double storied building. Its first storey is centrally situated on the east overlooking the lake below, its second storey is covered with bangla roof. It is divided into two halls and these halls surrounded by a corridor with double columns. The off white marble is used for this building and marble works on the base of the columns are magnificent.[59]

The upper part of *Sheesh Mahal* is known as Jai Mandir and is spell binding in the intricate floral designs with glass in them. This place was kept cool in the summer by covering its arched openings with screens woven with the roots of the aromatic grass. In the front of this building is a parterre little garden in the classic Mughal pattern called *Chār-Bhag* of four gardens. Facing of this is *Sukh Niwas* (pleasure palace), the Raja's private apartments where he retired to rest.[60]

[59]Catherine B. Asher, *The new Cambridge history of India Architecture of Mughal India*,Vol.IV, Pt.I New Delhi, 1992, p.248.

[60]G.H.R.Tillotson,*The Rajput Places The development of an architectural style 1450-1750*, op.cit., pp.99-100,Cathrine B. Asher,*The new Cambridge history of India Architecture of Mughal India*,Vol.IV, pt.I, op.cit.,1992, p.248, Physical survey.

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Different colours of mirrors in *Sheesh Mahal*'s design

We can see that the workers are working in the second storey of *Sheesh Mahal*. They are painted the mirrors with different colours.

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Floral design with surrounded a frame of *Sheesh Mahal*

This picture is *Char Bagh* at Amber fort

Jai Singh also participated in other activities. He represented the elevation of kingly splendour. In his reign the Kachawahas attained the zenith of its prosperity and affluence. He was not only a master of diplomacy, he had acquired knowledge of language, art and architecture which made him leading prince and an eminent noble of his age in Amber. His career was one of unapproached eminence.

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Jai Singh was a loyal servant at Mughal court, he accepted this thing that 'Till life is present in the body, I shall continue in the service of the emperor. I have no other desire to put forward except that till breath remains in my body, I should remain in my duty.'[61]

His Relations with Sikh Gurus

His relation with Harikrishna was cordial. Aurangzeb selected him to pursue Harikrishna. He took himself the responsibility and also got assurance from Aurangzeb. He sent Diwan Pars Ram, who was wise, calm and courteous man along with gifts and presents and requesting Harikrishna to come to Delhi.[62]

Guru Harikrishna was ready to meet Aurangzeb and he would come to Delhi within two or three weeks. Jai Singh took full responsibility for his safety.[63]

Raja Jai Singh gives high opinion and his broad acceptance of Guru Harikrishna as legitimate heir by the big majority of the Sikhs. Aurangzeb accepted that Guru HariKrishna's accession and dismiss the claim of Ram Rai.[64]

Raja Jai Singh's palace gave Hari Krishna which is now the site of Gurudwara Bangla Sahib in New Delhi.[65]

Mirza Raja Jai Singh's Descendants in Mughal Services

Mirza Raja Jai Singh had two sons Ram Singh and Kirat Singh. Kirat Singh was a younger brother of Ram Singh. They joined Mughal services with highest rank. They participated in important battles with his father. After Jai Singh's death Ram Singh occupied the Gaddi of Amber.[66]His two sons Ram Singh and Kirat Singh also received the *mansab* of 3,000 *Zat*/2,000 *Sawar* and 1,000 *Zat*/9,00*Sawar*.[67]

Ram Singh joined Mughal service in 1645. When he went to Kabul from Lahore, he received the *mansab* of five thousand from Shahjahan. During the time of war of succession, he and his brother Kirat Singh participated battles with Dara

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[61]Jagdish Narayan Srkar, *The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian general*, Calcutta, 1969, p.124.
[62]Surjit Singh Gandhi, *History of Sikh Gurus Retold*, Vol.II, New Delhi, 2007, p.604.
[63]Ibid.
[64]Ibid, p.609.
[65]Surjit Singh Gandhi, *History of Sikh Gurus Retold*, op.cit., p.610.
[66]*Munhata Nainsi- Ri Khyat*, Vol.I, ed. Badri Prasad Sakria, Jodhpur, 1960, p.291, Shyamaldas, *Vir Vinod*, Vol.II, Pt.II, Delhi,1986, p.1295.
[67]Shyamaldas, *VirVinod (MewarKaitihas)*, Vol.II, Pt.I,Udaipur, 1943, p.366.

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Shukoh against Aurangzeb and Murad. In 1660, he brought Sulaiman Shukoh from Sri Nagar.[68]

When Shivaji escaped from Agra, Aurangzeb held him responsible. He reduced his *mansab*. After Jai Singh's died, Aurangzeb called him from Agra, gave *Khilat*, decorated *Jamdhar*, and decorated sword and *Arabi* horse to him.[69]

Aurangzeb sent Ram Singh to Assam. He had very small forces. His campaign was rendered further difficult by the defiance and disloyalty of Rashid Khan. He lived eight years in Assam, he returned in June 1676 from distant land. Aurangzeb transferred Ram Singh to Kohat, Where he died in April 1688.[70]

His Personality and Character at Mughal Court

We find information of Jai Singh's status and personality from the paintings which are preserved in the Los Angeles country Museum of Art. These paintings show that he had important place at Mughal court.

Jai Singh had loyalty to Mughal Empire, when Shahjahan, Aurangzeb and other members of royal family watched the fighting of elephant. Suddenly one of the elephant attacked Aurangzeb. Jai Singh threw his life at chance and saved Aurangzeb. This bravery work shows the Kachawaha's loyalty to Mughal Empire.[71]

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[68]Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*,Vol.II,ed. Maulvi Kabiruddin & Ghulam Qadir, Calcutta, 1870, p.123, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, p.561, Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, Vol.I, p.601.
[69]Shayamaldas, *Vir Vinod*,Vol.II, pt.II, op.cit., p.1295.
[70]Ibid, pp.1295-1296.
[71]Inayat Khan, *Shahjahannama*, op.cit., pp.95-96, Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol.I, p.492.

This figure shows that Jai Singh helped to quell an elephant, on 7 June, 1633. Adopted from A Mughal Icon Re-Examined.[72]

[72] *Padshahnama*, detail of folio 134r cited from Cathrine Glynn and Ellen Smart, A Mughal Icon Re-Examined, Vol. 57, *Artibus Asiae*, Switzerland, 1997, p.13, fig.7.

The double portrait paintingof Gaj Singh of Mewar and Mirza Raja Jai Singh. The figure of right side is Jai Singh and left side is Gaj Singh..[73]

The two most important Rajput noblemen Raja Jai Singh and Gaj Singh of the imperial court are shows in this painting. This painting is painted by Mughal artist Bichitr in 1633. It is sure that the painter was trained in Imperial Mughal aterial. The main features and style of this painting is connected with Mughal court.[74]

[73] A dazzling painting is preserved in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. A page from the Amber Album, ca. 1630. Folio: 45.1 X 34.3 cm (17 3/4X 13 ½ in),Cathrine Glynn and Ellen Smart,A Mughal Icon Re-Examined,op.cit., p.9. The main figures are inscriptions in *Devanagri*, '*surat maharaja srigajasingh and surati maharaja sri jai singh*' (likeness of Maharaja Gaj Singh and likeness of Maharaja Jai Singh), p.6.

[74] Ashok Kumar Das, Court Paintings for Amber Rulers, opcit., p.47,Cathrine Glynn and Ellen Smart A Mughal Icon Re-Examined, p.5.

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The pages are decorated with the same double margins and borders filled with gold flowering plants as those that appear on the Lacma double portrait, with one exception all have a vacant space on the reverse for calligraphy.[75]

The main features of the painting are brilliant colours, sumptuous use of gold, exquisite technical and painterly mastery.[76] Style of dresses of Raja Jai Singh and Gaj Singh are different. *Jama* of Gaj Singh is tied beneath his left arm in the presumed Hindu style. *Jama* of Mirza Raja Jai Singh is that he has tied it under his right arm in the fashion favoured more by Muslim. His *Jama* is tied as it is may have contributed to his being misidentified for so long.[77] This painting shows the furnishing, clothing, jewellery and turban ornaments of the great wealth Mirza Raja Jai Singh and Gaj Singh.[78]

Illustrated the Shahjahan's court on 16 March, 1630, reproduced here from A Mughal Icon Re-Examined.[79]

[75]Cathrine Glynn and Ellen Smart, A Mughal Icon Re-Examined, op.cit., p.5.
[76] Ibid,
[77]Cathrine Glynn and Ellen Smart, A Mughal Icon Re-Examined, op.cit., p.13.
[78]Ibid., p.15, Ashok Kumar Das, Court Paintings for Amber Rulers, p.47.
[79] bid., pp.7-13, *Padshahnama,* detail of folio 34.

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Jai Singh stands in the second row from the top left, he is watching the fourteen years old Shah Shuja stretch out his hands to exchange gifts with Shahjahan. Jai Singh was only nineteen years old, the characteristic include a bulge of hair at the nape of his neck, down-terned mustache, full lips set in a slight pout with protruding lower lip, long sideburns, an oversized ear and square chin.[80]

These painting show his loyalty and status of Mughal Empire. These paintings described this purpose. We can easily describe the personality of Mirza Raja Jai Singh. His administrative, cultural and activities discussed in this chapter. We present a different picture of him from as a military commander. He was brilliant in another field.

Shaikh Farid Bakkari gives brief account of Jai Singh's career, he says that

"امروز در قوم راجپوتان کچواهه در هند قرینه او در جمعیت و خزانه و اهلیت و مردمی نیست

حضرت خلیفه الهی از حسن خدمات او راضی و شاکر اندکه بے عذر است[81]."

"He is one of the *amirs* of His Majesty the second Lord of conjunction.....He always has with him about five thousand Rajput troopers. He is seeker after (good) name. After Raja Man Singh, he can be called the (real) successor of the Raja. In high and dignified *Farmans*, he is mentioned as Mirza Raja Jai Singh. He enjoy the nearness of position and respect (at the court) more than any of his contemporaries.[82]

Shahnawaz Khan says that about Mirza Raja Jai Singh's career that-

"بحسن تدبیر و سنجیدگیٔ فکر موصوف بود. سپاهی گری را با سرداری فراهم داشته. بامزاج زمانه

شناسا باندیشهٔ وقت آشنا.[83]"

"He was famed for his good judgement and powers of administration and he was also fully conversant with military technique. He had much tact, and it was due to this fact that from the beginning of his career to the end of his life he lived with a good reputation and continually got promotions."[84]

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[80] Cathrine Glynn and Ellen Smart, A Mughal Icon Re-Examined, op.cit., p.13.
[81] Shaikh Farid Bhakkari, *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, ed. Syed Moin-ul-Haqq, Karachi, 1964, p.111.
[82] Shaikh Farid Bhakkari, *Nobility under great Mughals*, tr. Ed., Z.A. Desai, 2003, p.237.
[83] Shahnawaz Khan, *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol.III, ed. Maulvi Ashraf Ali, Calcutta, 1891, p.576.
[84] Shahnawaz Khan, *The Maathir-ul-Umara*, Vol.I, tr. H. Beveridge, Delhi, 1999, p.734.

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Mirza Raja Jai Singh was a powerful noble during the 16 and 17 century. We can study of his other activities, find that he was also literary man and had interest in architecture.

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CONCLUSION

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Conclusion

This study concludes that Mirza Raja Jai Singh was an able statesman and politician.He started his career as a modest *mansabdar*. He entered Mughal court in his early age. His ancestors joined the Mughal Empire during the period of Akbar. Bharmal, Bhagwan Das and Man Singh were important Rajput nobles of Mughal court. Prestige of Kachchwahas was established at Mughal court. They served important duties of Mughal Empire. Bhao Singh and Jagat Singh were important nobles of Jahangir's period. After Bhao Singh's death Jahangir chose Mirza Raja Jai Singh to Amber *Gaddi*.

We observe after joining Mughal service, positionof Kachwahas became strong. He played important role in the battle against Khurram (Shahjahn). We have studied the *Nishans* which were issued by Nurjahan to him. These documents prove that he was an influential noble at that time, she sought his help against Khurram.

He was young and brave commander of Mughal army. His position and status was excellent under Shahjahn. His *mansab* increased day by day. His sons Ram Singh and Kirat Singh also joined the service of Mughal Empire. He played important role in South, North-eastern campaigns under Shahjahan. Due to his sincerity and integrity he received honours in Shahjahan's period.

His nature was diplomatic. He knew how to make enemies become friends. When war of succession started between Shahjahan's sons, he played decisive role in war of succession. In starting, he followed the orders of Shahjahan, he won the battle against Shah Shujah.But after Dara Singh lost Dharmat and Samugarh battle, he changed his side, he joined the service of Aurangzeb. Jai Singh became selfish. It is observed that if he did not take this step may be his military career would have finished.

He was the governor of Deccan under Aurangzeb. His governorship was spinning point of his military career. His military strategy against Shivaji and Bijapur was famous in military history of India. *Alamgirnama* and *Muntakab-al-Lubab*are two valuable sources for this aspect. These sources give full detail of his military, political and diplomatic strategy in Deccan.

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His planning and strategy successfully worked against Shivaji. He became ready for alliance with Mughals. Alliance of Purandar was important part of his political career. Terms of alliance were prepared by Mirza Raja Jai Singh. Shivaji accepted these terms without any arguments. Aurangzeb was also ready for alliance. All these things happened after he gave full efforts.

Flight of Shivaji from Agra harmed Jai Singh's career. Aurangzeb had doubt on his son Ram Singh. His failure in campaign against Bijapur finished his military career. But we see that his preparations were very well. He did hard work for this campaign. May be his attack on Bijapur was delayed so enemies had chance for their military preparations.

This episode of his career was shocking. He had nothing in his hands. He was suddenly recalled from Deccan and he died on the way.

We have also discussed other activities of Mirza Raja Jai Singh. His administrative and cultural activities were considerable. He held *Jagirs* in different provinces and his *watan*. He built two famous building *Sheesh Mahal* and *Diwan-i-Aam* in his period. He had knowledge of different languages as *Persian*, *Turkish*, and *Urdu* especially in *Sanskrit*. His contribution in literature and poetry is tremendous. Behari, Kulpati and Narottam were famous poets of Mirza Raja Jai Singh's court. Panditraja, Jagannath was introduced by Mirza Raja Jai Singh in Shahjahan's court.

His sons also participated in Mughal battles with him. They enjoyed mansab at Mughal court.

After the study of Mirza Jai Singh's life we can conclude that he enjoyed glorious life under three famous Mughal Emperors (Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb). He gave admirable service to Mughal Empire. He had quality of excellent and brilliant military general during 16th and 17th centuries. He easily solved any problems of war and peace. He had also quality of diplomacy and politics of his character.

Farmans are most important documents for this study. These documents give the details of every aspects of Mirza Raja Jai Singh's life. Every question of Mirza Raja Singh's life can be solved after the study of these documents. A large number of *Farmans*were issued by Mughal emperors to him.

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He occupied important position at Mughal Empire. His military, administrative, politics and diplomatic services were excellent. After Man Singh, he was only Kachchwaha Rajput noble, who established his valuable position among other nobles. He was one of the important noble during the period of Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb gave highest honour in his court to him. Mirza Raja Jai Singh received 7,000/7,000 *mansab* from Aurangzeb.To conclude we can say that Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb honoured him by important position. He was involved in important matters of Mughal Empire.

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GLOSSARY

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GLOSSARY

Aiyān	Gentry officers
Alu-Rutbat	Higher Rank
Ārkān	Pillars of State
Arzdasht	Petition
Ashrafis	Gold Mohur
Ataliq wa Kar-Guzar	Guardian and man of work
Ban	Rocket
Baqqals	Grocer
Burj-i-Safaid	White Tower
Chhatri	Parasol
Chandawal	Rearguard
Damdamas	Batteries
Daricha	Postern-Gate
Diwan-Khana	audience Tent
Dhal	Shield
Faujdari-mustagil	substantive military command
Gaz	Yard
Huns	Coin of Gold
Ijara	Lease
Istiqbal	Welcome
Khillat	Robe of honour
Kar-o-Kirdar	His own action
Karkhanas	Workshop
Khilat	Robe of Honour
Kuroh	Meter

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Kulor Ghol	Central
Lashkar	Army
Mansab	Rank
Maimanah	Right wing
Maisarah	Left wing
Manzil	Stages
Masala-i-topkhana	Artillery
Mohar	Stamp
Mustajir	Tenant
Muqadamma	The Prelude
Nabira	Grandson
Niwara	Gun Boat
Phool Katara	A dagger full of painting and ornaments worth in front
Prahars	Quarters
Qiladar	Commander
Qual	Assurance
Rahdari	Road-toll
Rasas	Moods
Sāhib	envoy
San	Hemp-Twine
Saqqas	Water Carries
Sawaran-i-Barqandaz	Mounted musketeers
Subedari	Governorship
Tabahikars	Offenders
Tadbir-i-Nazir	Diplomacy
Thanas	Posts

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Tazuri	Deception
Wali-Ahd	Successor
Zira	Yard

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APPENDICES

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इव मल्लमानी मृगेन्द्र इवाऽप्रतिमपराक्रमः समर-
वसुधावतीर्णदुर्वारवैरिवारणघटासङ्घट्टविघट्टनोपार्जितय-
शःसुधाधवलिताखिलमहीमण्डलः श्रीमत्कच्छपघाता-
न्वयसरःकमलमार्तण्डो महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीगग-
नसिंहदेवपादानुध्यानप्रबलपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-
परमेश्वरश्रीशरदसिंहदेवपादानुध्यानपरः परमराज्ञीश्री-
लक्ष्मादेवीगर्भरत्नाकरोत्पन्नमाणिक्यमूर्तिः परमभट्टारक-
महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवीरसिंहदेवो विजयी ऽपरि-
सूचितयामे ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् बलिराजमल्लप्रमुखसमस्त-
जनपदान् यथार्हं प्रतिमान्य सम्बोधयति समाज्ञापयति च।

विदितमस्तु भवतां यथानामतः प्रसिद्धो बबाडो
ग्रामः समस्तनिम्नमेखलाचलयपर्वतः सघनवृक्षमालाकुलः
साम्रमधूकाराम्रः समस्ततृणकाष्ठाठवीयुक्त आकाशपाता-
लीयोत्पत्तिसमुपेतो मल्लदण्डद्रोहदशापराधपरिवर्जितः
प्रतिषिद्धचौरपुरप्रवेशो ऽष्टादशप्रबलीसमन्वितो यथा-
भागभोगकरहिरण्यादिप्रवेशः चतुराघाटविशुद्धः श्रद्धया
पुण्ये ऽकनि मनोनुध्यातगङ्गादिमल्लानदीजले हिरण्यदर्भो-
दकस्पर्शपूर्वकं विधिवत् पित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपु-
ण्ययशोभिवृद्धये ऽस्माभिः प्रतीतः काश्यपगोत्रायाऽश्वस-
थिकगोविन्दाय पदे २ भ्रातृपद्मनाभाय पदं १ केशवाय

Source: I have adopted this inscription from fitz Edward Hall, three inscriptions, *Journal of American oriental society*, Vol - VI, Mdccolx, p. 543. This inscription showing that Kachawaha migrated from Narwar.

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Appendix –B

Standing-Left to right, Bhagwan Das, Mirza Man Singh, Bhao Singh, Mirza Raja Jai Singh I, Ram Singh I. These paltes preserved Albert Museum.

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Appendix –C

Dhoomban Canon It was made in 1622, Mirza Raja Jai Singh used this canon in Qandhar battle in 1642,[1] preserved in Jaigarh fort.

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[1] R.S. Khangarot, P.S. Nathawat, *Jaigarh The Invincible Fort of Amber*, RBSA Publishers, Jaipur, 1990.

Appendix – D

Mirza Raja Jai Singh receiving Shivaji a day before concluding the treaty of Purandar (12 June 1665).

Source: Arjun Singh Kulkarni, http://www.flickr.com/photos/75436833.

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Appendix -E

MUGHAL BATTLE ORDER IN BIJAPUR

This bottle plain adapted from *The Military Dispatches of A seventeenth century India General*

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Appendix –F

Plate preserved in City Place.

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Table I Showing position of Jai Singh under Shahjahan

S No	Year	Name of *Mansabdar*	*Mansab* *Zat/ Sawar*	Appointments Titles	Sources
1	1037 A.H./1927-1928 A.D.	Jai Singh	4,000/ 3,000		Lahori, vol.I, p.120
2	1039 A.H./1629-1630 A.D.	Jai Singh	4,000 / 4,000		Lahori, vol.I,p.296
3	1044 A.H./1634-1635 A.D.	Jai Singh	5,000/ 4,000		Lahori, vol.I, Pt.b, p.248
4	1046 A.H./1636-37	Jai Singh	5,000/ 5,000		Ibid.
5	1048 A.H./1638-1639 A.D.	Jai Singh	5,000/ 5,000	*Mirza Raja*	Lahori, vol.I, pt.b, p.145
6	1051 A.H./1641-1642 A.D.	Jai Singh	5,000 / 5,000	*Qiledar* of Mau fort	Lahori, vol.I, pt.b, p.273
7	1068 A.H./1657-1658 A.D.	Jai Singh	7,000/ 6,000		Salih, vol.III, p.279

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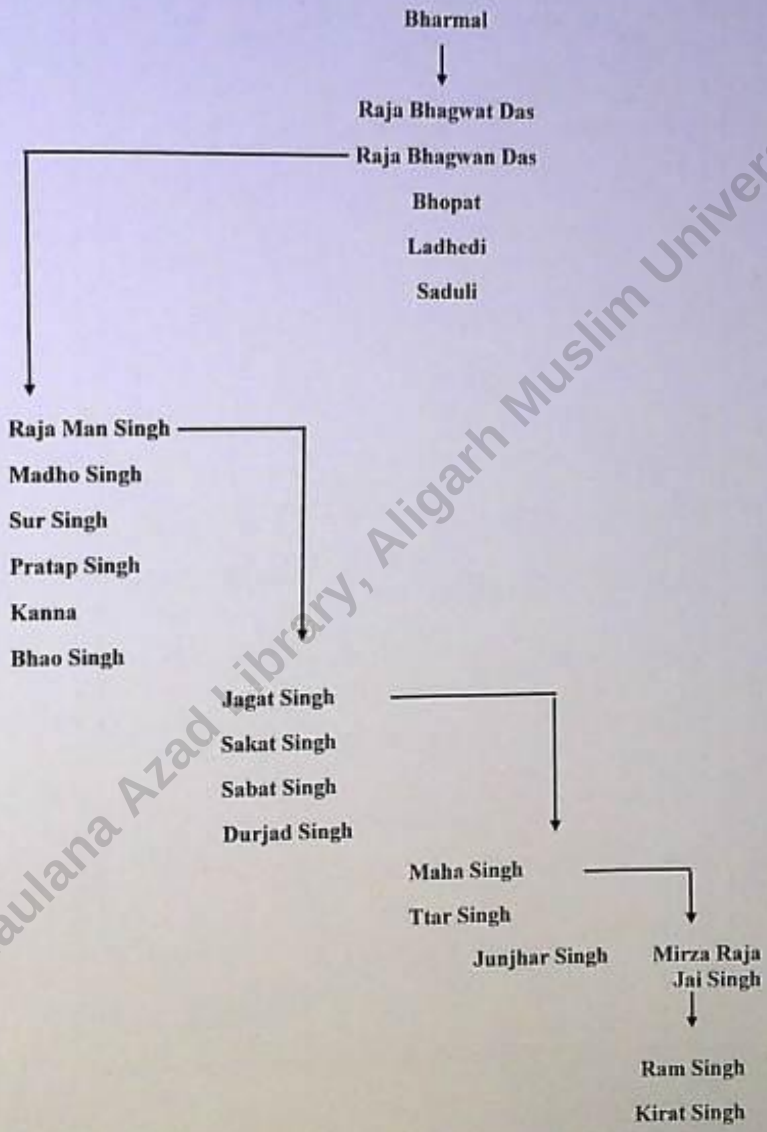
GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF KACHWAHA FAMILY

(Based on *Munhata Nainsi ri-Khayat* and *Kachhawahas Ri Vanshavali*)



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Map I showing routes of Purandar

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Map II showing Deccan Campaign

Map adopted from *The Military Despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian General*

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